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# U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE UN



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REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE  
CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1965





**U.S.  
PARTICIPATION  
IN THE UN**

**REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE  
CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1965**

DEPARTMENT OF STATE PUBLICATION 8137

International Organization and Conference Series 73

*Released March 1967*

# LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

## *The President of the United States:*

### *To the Congress of the United States:*

I am submitting herewith the twentieth annual report on United States participation in the United Nations, covering calendar year 1965.

That year gave new evidence of our country's vigorous commitment to the world organization, and to the cause of peace which it serves. All of the American efforts recorded here—whether political, economic, social, legal or administrative—were designed solely to further that commitment.

The whole world shared our grief when Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson died in London on July 14, 1965. The respect and affection in which he was held, and the world's gratitude for his contributions to the United Nations, found expression in messages from officials and leaders around the globe, and in the rare tribute of a memorial meeting in the General Assembly hall at the United Nations.

One measure of a nation's regard for the United Nations is the quality of representatives it sends to the Organization. Accordingly, I asked Arthur J. Goldberg to leave the Supreme Court of the United States and to succeed Ambassador Stevenson as our Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

Ambassador Goldberg's first important task was to help end the paralysis suffered by the General Assembly in 1964 as a result of the U.N. constitutional crisis. It had become clear that the membership as a whole was not prepared to apply the penalty provided by Article 19 of the Charter—loss of vote in the Assembly for those more than two years in arrears—to those members who had refused to contribute their assessed shares of certain peacekeeping operations. On August 16, Ambassador Goldberg announced that the United States would not seek to frustrate the evident desire of many members that the General Assembly should proceed normally. At the same time, he made it clear that the United States reserved the same option to make exceptions to collective financing assessments in the future.

The consensus reached by the General Assembly included agreement that the Organization's financial difficulties should be solved through voluntary contributions, particularly from those delinquent in their payments. A few nations contributed, but those furthest in arrears did not. The financial condition of the United Nations thus remained precarious.

During 1965, the Security Council made a major contribution to international peace by halting the hostilities between India and Pakistan arising from the Kashmir dispute. In thus arresting a full-scale war on the sub-continent, the Organization prevented untold tragedy in Asia—and proved anew its value as an instrument for peace.

United Nations peace forces and truce supervisors continued to stand guard throughout 1965 in Cyprus, in Kashmir, in Korea, and along the troubled borders of Israel. The Security Council also dispatched United Nations representatives and observers to the Dominican Republic during the disorders there; but the primacy of the Organization of American States in dealing successfully with this regional problem, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, remained unimpaired.

During the year, concrete steps toward disarmament were again strongly urged from all quarters, although progress proved disappointingly slow; the serious problems of race relations and colonialism in Southern Africa were also a cause of increasing debate and concern; and the United Nations and its members were repeatedly urged by the United States to join in the search for peace in Viet-Nam.

In my speech in San Francisco on June 25, 1965—the Twentieth Anniversary of the United Nations—I called upon its members to use all their influence, individually and collectively, to bring to the negotiating table those who seemed determined to continue the conflict. Ambassador Goldberg addressed similar appeals to United Nations members. Indeed, in his first official communication as U.S. Representative, a letter to the Security Council President on July 30, 1965, Ambassador Goldberg recalled the legitimate interest of the Security Council in the peace of Southeast Asia and asserted that

“The United States stands ready, as it has in the past, to collaborate unconditionally with members of the Security Council in the search for an acceptable formula to restore peace and security to that area of the world.”

Unfortunately, these initiatives produced no affirmative response from those supporting the aggression against South Viet-Nam. Two suspensions of the bombing of North Viet-Nam during the year were



no more successful in opening the path to honorable negotiations. The tragic conflict continues unabated in Viet-Nam. But we are continuing our efforts untiringly to seek a peaceful settlement of this issue through the United Nations and all other channels. This was the key issue dealt with in Ambassador Goldberg's statement to the twenty-first General Assembly in the general debate in September 1966.

The year 1965 marked the mid-point of the United Nations Development Decade. It was a year of sober assessment. Despite substantial progress in some areas, it was clear that in most of the more than one hundred countries with per capital incomes of less than \$200, economic growth had been largely swallowed up by the mounting tide of population growth. Multilateral programs of aid, trade, and investment, although substantial in absolute terms, are not sufficient—even when combined with all the other large programs, public and private—to narrow the “development gap.”

This discouraging assessment stimulated new efforts to cope with development problems:

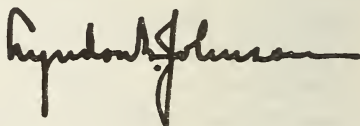
- The newly created U.N. Conference on Trade and Development began its search for new trade patterns and practices which would benefit the developing countries.
- The establishment of a new U.N. Organization for Industrial Development was approved by the General Assembly.
- The U.N. Development Program was established by merger of the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund. The United States had worked long and hard for the integration of these two major U.N. operational programs in order to permit better planning and more effective use of resources.
- Foundations were laid for the new Asian Development Bank with a capitalization of \$1 billion, including a \$200 million subscription by the United States. It promises to be one of the most effective agencies for the financing of economic and social development in Asia.
- A new African Development Bank, designed to play a similar role in Africa, opened for business.

Through these and other instrumentalities, our delegations in U.N. agencies have given leadership and positive support to major goals in the struggle for a better life: more food production; assistance in voluntary family planning; the training of skilled manpower; development of transport and communications; fuller utilization of natural resources; and increased application of science and technology.

The year 1965 had been designated International Cooperation Year (ICY) by the U.N. General Assembly, and U.N. members were urged to commemorate it in appropriate ways. The culmination of the American celebration was a White House Conference attended by more than 5,000 distinguished Americans—leaders in their communities, in business and industry, in educational and labor organizations, in the arts and sciences, and in the professions. The Conference discussed reports on international cooperation in agriculture, atomic energy, disarmament, health, the welfare of women and youth, and many other fields. Many of its recommendations have already been put into effect. Others are being thoroughly evaluated by a special White House Committee which will shortly submit its report to me.

Public support for the United Nations continued at a high level as the Organization approached its twenty-first anniversary. Most thoughtful people know that the United Nations is a far from perfect organization, in a far from perfect world. Yet they also recognize that it and its specialized agencies are the best system yet devised for sovereign nations to work together with equality and self-respect.

Our investment in the United Nations, and its various agencies and special programs, supplements other activities undertaken to preserve, protect, or promote a wide range of national interests. Above all, our commitment to the United Nations is an expression of faith which has illumined the entire history of our country: a faith that the creative powers of democracy and human reason can overcome the evils of tyranny and violence.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Lyndon B. Johnson". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
*March 9, 1967.*

## *The Secretary of State to the President*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
*Washington, November 7, 1966*

THE PRESIDENT:

Under the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Congress) the President transmits annually to the Congress a report on United States participation in the United Nations. A report on the activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies for the year 1965 has therefore been prepared.

As in previous years, the report is a comprehensive survey of the Government's participation in the work of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

I recommend that you approve the report for transmittal to the Congress.

Respectfully submitted,



THE PRESIDENT,  
*The White House.*





# CONTENTS

	Page
Letters of Transmittal . . . . .	III
THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS . . . . .	III
THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE PRESIDENT . . . . .	VII
<b>Part I. Maintenance of Peace and Security . . . . .</b>	<b>1</b>
DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL : : : : . . . . .	1
United Nations Disarmament Commission . . . . .	1
Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarma- ment (ENDC) . . . . .	8
General Assembly Consideration . . . . .	13
Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament . . . .	19
OUTER SPACE . . . . .	22
Legal Subcommittee . . . . .	22
Outer Space Committee . . . . .	23
20th General Assembly . . . . .	24
Space Launch Registration . . . . .	27
PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT . . . . .	28
Relations Among States . . . . .	28
Peaceful Settlement of Disputes . . . . .	28
Nonintervention . . . . .	29
Improvement of Relations Among European States . . . .	33
Cyprus . . . . .	34
Dominican Republic . . . . .	45
India-Pakistan Question . . . . .	57
Korea . . . . .	68
Oman . . . . .	72
Palestine Question . . . . .	76
Senegal-Portugal Dispute . . . . .	84
South Africa— <i>Apartheid</i> . . . . .	85
Tibet . . . . .	95
Viet-Nam . . . . .	97
	IX

**Part I. Maintenance of Peace and Security—Continued**

	<i>Page</i>
<b>GENERAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS . . . . .</b>	<b>102</b>
Article 19 Controversy . . . . .	102
Future Peacekeeping Operations . . . . .	112
United Nations Membership . . . . .	124
Admission of New Members . . . . .	124
Problem of Very Small New States . . . . .	126
Withdrawal of Indonesia. . . . .	127
Chinese Representation . . . . .	128
Enlargement of U.N. Councils . . . . .	133
Charter Review . . . . .	136
Cooperation Between the United Nations and the Organiza- tion of African Unity . . . . .	138
Improvement of Methods of Work of the General As- sembly . . . . .	139
International Cooperation Year . . . . .	140

**Part II. Cooperation in the Economic, Social, Scientific,  
and Human Rights Fields . . . . .**

<b>INTRODUCTION . . . . .</b>	<b>143</b>
<b>ECONOMIC COOPERATION . . . . .</b>	<b>147</b>
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) . . . . .	147
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) . . . .	153
Commodity Trade . . . . .	155
Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) . . . . .	157
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) . .	160
Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) . . . .	163
Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) . . . . .	164
Technical Cooperation . . . . .	166
United Nations Capital Development Fund . . . . .	167
Industrial Development . . . . .	168
<b>SOCIAL COOPERATION . . . . .</b>	<b>170</b>
Social Development . . . . .	170
Social Planning . . . . .	171
Advisory Social Welfare Services . . . . .	176
Social Defense Activities . . . . .	179
Housing, Building, and Planning . . . . .	181
Population . . . . .	184

## Part II. Cooperation in the Economic, Social, Scientific, and Human Rights Fields—Continued

SOCIAL COOPERATION—Continued	Page
Narcotic Drugs . . . . .	186
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).	188
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) . . . . .	194
SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION . . . . .	197
Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development . . . . .	198
United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR) . . . . .	200
Other Questions Relating to Science and Technology . . .	201
HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS . . . . .	203
Convention Against Racial Discrimination . . . . .	203
Human Rights . . . . .	205
Status of Women . . . . .	210
Advisory Services in the Field of Human Rights . . . . .	215
Slavery . . . . .	215
Declaration on Promotion of Peace Ideals Among Youth . .	216
SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY . . . . .	216
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) . . . . .	216
International Finance Corporation (IFC) . . . . .	218
International Development Association (IDA) . . . . .	219
International Monetary Fund (IMF) . . . . .	219
Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) . . . . .	221
International Labor Organization (ILO) . . . . .	228
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organi- zation (UNESCO) . . . . .	233
World Health Organization (WHO) . . . . .	240
International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) . . . .	244
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) . . . . .	247
International Telecommunication Union (ITU) . . . . .	248
Universal Postal Union (UPU) . . . . .	254
World Meteorological Organization (WMO) . . . . .	255
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) . . . . .	259

	Page
<b>Part III. Trusteeship and Dependent Areas . . . . .</b>	<b>265</b>
<b>TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM . . . . .</b>	<b>265</b>
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands . . . . .	266
Trust Territory of New Guinea . . . . .	270
Trust Territory of Nauru . . . . .	273
<b>COMMITTEE OF 24 . . . . .</b>	<b>275</b>
Procedural Aspects . . . . .	276
African Trip . . . . .	277
Territories Considered in 1965 . . . . .	278
Aden. . . . .	279
Former U.K. High Commission Territories . . . . .	281
British Guiana . . . . .	285
Cook Islands. . . . .	286
Territories Not Considered Separately in 1965 . . . . .	288
Falkland Islands (Malvinas) . . . . .	288
Fiji . . . . .	288
Mauritius . . . . .	289
Equatorial Guinea (Fernando Póo and Rio Muni). . . . .	289
Gibraltar . . . . .	290
Ifni and Spanish Sahara . . . . .	290
Small Territories . . . . .	290
Colonialism Resolution . . . . .	292
<b>SOUTHERN RHODESIA . . . . .</b>	<b>295</b>
Committee of 24 Consideration . . . . .	295
First Security Council Consideration . . . . .	297
Further Committee of 24 Consideration . . . . .	298
General Assembly Resolutions . . . . .	299
Second Security Council Consideration . . . . .	305
<b>TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION . . . . .</b>	<b>309</b>
Committee of 24 Consideration . . . . .	309
Activities of Foreign Economic and Other Interests . . . . .	310
Security Council Consideration . . . . .	312
General Assembly Consideration . . . . .	316
<b>SOUTH-WEST AFRICA . . . . .</b>	<b>318</b>
Committee of 24 Consideration . . . . .	318
General Assembly Consideration . . . . .	320



**Part III. Trusteeship and Dependent Areas—Continued**

	Page
SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMS . . . . .	323
Trust Territories . . . . .	323
Non-Self-Governing Territories . . . . .	324
South-West Africa . . . . .	325
Portuguese Territories . . . . .	326

**Part IV. Legal and Constitutional Developments . . . . . 327**

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE . . . . .	327
Case Concerning the Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Co., Ltd. ( <i>Belgium v. Spain</i> ) . . . . .	327
South-West Africa Cases ( <i>Ethiopia v. South Africa; Liberia v. South Africa</i> ) . . . . .	329
INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION . . . . .	329
GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION . . . . .	330
Reports of the International Law Commission . . . . .	331
General Multilateral Treaties Concluded Under the Auspices of the League of Nations . . . . .	332
Technical Assistance To Promote the Teaching, Study, Dissemination, and Wider Appreciation of International Law . . . . .	334
Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance With the Charter of the United Nations . . . . .	336
Consideration of Steps To Be Taken for Progressive Development of Private International Law . . . . .	340
Draft Declaration on the Right of Asylum . . . . .	341

**Part V. Budgetary, Financial, and Administrative Matters . . . . . 342**

UNITED NATIONS BUDGET . . . . .	342
AD HOC COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS (COMMITTEE OF 14) . . . . .	343
SPECIALIZED AGENCIES BUDGETS . . . . .	343
ASSESSMENTS (UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES) . . . . .	345
UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS . . . . .	345
United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) . . . . .	345
United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) . . . . .	346
VOLUNTARY PROGRAMS . . . . .	347
PERSONNEL MATTERS—AMERICANS IN THE UNITED NATIONS . . . . .	348

## APPENDIXES

	Page
<b>I. The United Nations . . . . .</b>	<b>353</b>
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY . . . . .	353
THE SECURITY COUNCIL . . . . .	355
THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (ECOSOC) . . . . .	356
THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL . . . . .	357
THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (ICJ) . . . . .	358
THE SECRETARIAT OF THE UNITED NATIONS . . . . .	359
Organization . . . . .	360
STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY . . . . .	362
SUBSIDIARY AND AD HOC BODIES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY . . . . .	362
United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee (UNSAC) . . . . .	362
United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR) . . . . .	363
Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space . . . . .	363
The Special Committee on the Situation With Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Committee of 24) . . . . .	363
Trade and Development Board of the United Nations Con- ference on Trade and Development . . . . .	364
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) . . . . .	365
The U.N. Staff Pension Committee . . . . .	365
The Investments Committee . . . . .	366
The Board of Auditors . . . . .	366
The U.N. Administrative Tribunal . . . . .	366
International Law Commission . . . . .	367
STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL . . . . .	368
Technical Assistance Committee (TAC) . . . . .	368
Committee for Industrial Development (CID) . . . . .	369
Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning . . . . .	369
ECOSOC Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development . . . . .	370
United Nations/FAO Intergovernmental Committee . . . . .	371
FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL . . . . .	373
Commission on Human Rights . . . . .	373
Commission on International Commodity Trade (CICT) . . . . .	374

## APPENDIXES—Continued

## I. The United Nations—Continued

FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL—Continued		Page
Commission on Narcotic Drugs . . . . .		375
Population Commission . . . . .		376
Social Commission . . . . .		377
Statistical Commission . . . . .		378
Commission on the Status of Women . . . . .		379
REGIONAL COMMISSIONS OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL . . . . .		380
Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) . . . . .		380
Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) . . . . .		381
Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) . . . . .		381
Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) . . . . .		382
U.N. SPECIAL BODIES AND PROGRAMS . . . . .		383
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) . . . . .		383
Governing Council of the Special Fund . . . . .		384
II. The Specialized Agencies . . . . .		385
FAO—FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION . . . . .		385
IBRD—INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT . . . . .		386
ICAO—INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION. . . . .		387
IDA—INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION . . . . .		388
IFC—INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION . . . . .		389
ILO—INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION. . . . .		390
IMCO—INTERGOVERNMENTAL MARITIME CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION . . . . .		391
IMF—INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND : : . . . . .		392
ITU—INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION . . . . .		393
UNESCO—UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION . . . . .		394
UPU—UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION . . . . .		395
WHO—WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION : : . . . . .		396
WMO—WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION . . . . .		397
III. Other International Organizations : : : : . . . . .		398
INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY (IAEA) . . . . .		398

## APPENDIXES—Continued

	Page
<b>IV. United States Representation . . . . .</b>	<b>399</b>
UNITED STATES MISSIONS : : : : : . . . . .	399
U.S. Mission at U.N. Headquarters in New York (USUN) .	399
U.S. Mission at U.N. European Office in Geneva . . . . .	400
Other U.S. Missions : : : : : . . . . .	401
UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES TO THE UNITED NATIONS .	401
The General Assembly. . . . .	402
The Security Council . . . . .	404
The Trusteeship Council . . . . .	405
The Economic and Social Council : . . . .	405
UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES TO THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES . . . . .	406
UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS . . . . .	408
<b>V. Publications and Documentation . . . . .</b>	<b>409</b>
SALE OF PUBLICATIONS AND VISUAL MATERIALS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES : . .	411
SUBAGENTS IN THE UNITED STATES FOR SALE OF UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS AND VISUAL MATERIALS . . .	412
DEPOSITORY LIBRARIES IN THE UNITED STATES DESIGNATED BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES .	414

## CHARTS

The United Nations System  
 The General Assembly  
 The Security Council  
 The Economic and Social Council  
 The Trusteeship Council  
 The United Nations Secretariat



# *Maintenance of Peace and Security*

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## DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

### *United Nations Disarmament Commission*

The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC) adjourned its 1964 session, having decided to resume its meetings as soon as possible after the completion of disarmament discussions at the 19th General Assembly, on a date to be fixed by its U.S. and Soviet cochairmen. In February 1965, when it became evident that the dispute over the financing of U.N. peacekeeping operations would prevent the discussion of disarmament issues at the 19th General Assembly, the United States requested the Soviet Union's agreement to the resumption of the ENDC at the earliest possible date. The Soviet reply was noncommittal.

On March 31, 1965, the Soviet Union's Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Nikolai Fedorenko, wrote to the Secretary-General and requested on behalf of his government the convening of the U.N. Disarmament Commission, a body composed of all members of the United Nations. He said that his government believed that there should be "a thorough examination of the disquieting state of disarmament negotiations" in the ENDC, and, because no such discussion had been possible in the General Assembly, the Disarmament Commission should be convened.

Commenting on this Soviet proposal, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, recalled that in view of the importance which the United States attached to disarmament negotiations, it had been pressing vigorously for the reconvening of the ENDC which, "in our judgment is the best forum in which to reach agreement on concrete disarmament proposals." However, if the majority of U.N. members favored a meeting of the Disarmament Commission, the United States would participate constructively and hope that useful ideas would emerge which could then be considered in detail by the ENDC.

After consulting other members, the Secretary-General announced he would call the Disarmament Commission into session on April 21. After a preliminary meeting on that day, at which the Representative of the United Arab Republic, Ambassador Mohamed Awad El Kony, was elected chairman, the Commission's general debate began on April 26 and continued until May 25.

### U.S. and U.S.S.R. Opening Statements

The Soviet Representative began the debate with a strong attack upon all aspects of U.S. foreign policy, including—at length—American activities in Viet-Nam. He characterized the results of the ENDC as “completely unsatisfactory,” declared that U.S. disarmament proposals amounted only to control without disarmament, and said that his government's memorandum of December 7, 1964, which had been submitted to the U.N. General Assembly, constituted a basis for disarmament negotiations which could yield maximum results. He singled out 3 of the 11 measures contained in that memorandum for priority consideration by the Disarmament Commission: the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of other states; the dismantling of foreign bases on the territory of other states; and the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons. In stressing the importance of reaching an agreement on preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, he pointed out that the Soviet Union would not agree to any treaty under which a NATO multilateral force could be created.

On April 26, Ambassador Stevenson replied to the Soviet attack on the United States and said it had “only served to confirm widespread doubts about the Soviet Union's motives in convening this meeting.” In replying to the “irrelevant assault” he noted that the U.S.S.R. continued to express its views on the situation in Southeast Asia everywhere except in the Security Council—“the very forum which the Soviet Union insists is the only forum competent to take any action upon the situation.”

He declared that the United States was determined to work toward general and complete disarmament as part of its long-term effort to achieve a better and safer world through the application of the principles of the U.N. Charter. However, achievement of this goal first required a halt and reversal of the arms race, beginning with measures on which agreement seemed possible. He noted that President Johnson had outlined several such measures for study and negotiation in his message to the ENDC on January 21, 1964, including a verified freeze on the number and characteristics of offensive and defensive strategic nuclear delivery vehicles, a cutoff of production

of fissionable material for weapons use, and measures to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

Stressing the urgent need to halt the spread of nuclear weapons, the U.S. Representative recommended, as a first step, a nonproliferation agreement by which the nuclear powers would pledge not to relinquish control of nuclear weapons or provide assistance necessary for their manufacture to nations not now possessing them. Non-nuclear states would agree not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of nuclear weapons.

At the same time, he noted that the security of states which forego the development of nuclear weapons should also be given consideration, and repeated President Johnson's statement of October 18, 1964, that "The nations that do not seek national nuclear weapons can be sure that if they need our strong support against some threat of nuclear blackmail, then they will have it."

Finally, the U.S. Representative recommended the early conclusion of a comprehensive test ban agreement as a further step in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

### Summary of Debate

In the course of the Disarmament Commission's month-long debate, the following major issues were covered.

#### NONPROLIFERATION

Although there was widespread agreement on the urgent need to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, there were differing views on how best to approach this problem. India, Japan, Sweden, and several other countries called for a "package" approach, which would make agreement on a nonproliferation treaty contingent upon agreements on other measures such as a comprehensive test ban, reductions in nuclear weapons stockpiles, and (in the Indian proposal) safeguards to countries threatened by nuclear or near-nuclear powers.

Commenting on these proposals, the U.S. Representative, William C. Foster, noted that the United States fully recognized the merit of a broad program to meet the nonproliferation problem. However, he pointed out, insistence upon the adoption of a whole range of measures more or less simultaneously would result in a continuing stalemate in disarmament negotiations. He urged agreement as rapidly as possible on each component of a sound program to prevent nuclear proliferation.

The Soviet Representative sought to portray the possibility of a NATO multilateral force (MLF) as the sole obstacle to a nonproliferation agreement. He insisted that the creation of an MLF or



the British-proposed Atlantic nuclear force (ANF) would give the Federal Republic of Germany access to nuclear weapons. Therefore any such force must be banned in a nonproliferation agreement. The U.S. Representative reiterated that a NATO nuclear force would be completely consistent with U.S. opposition to the spread of nuclear weapons capabilities, and that any such force would entail effective safeguards to insure against proliferation.

#### COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN

There was strong support in the Disarmament Commission for an early agreement on a comprehensive test ban. Pending the conclusion of such an agreement, several countries urged a moratorium on all nuclear tests. On May 17 the U.S. Representative agreed that the "time is right" for agreement but rejected an unverified moratorium. He declared:

We are willing to explore what would constitute an adequate verification system in light of recent and prospective developments in our capabilities. If such exploration indicates that verification requirements can be satisfied by a different number and type of inspections from those previously proposed, we will take those facts into account. We are ready to begin this exploration as soon as possible at a resumed session of the ENDC.

The U.S. Representative declared that the detonation of a nuclear device by Communist China on May 14 was "a deplorable step in the wrong direction" and was carried out "in total disregard of the partial test ban treaty to which more than 100 countries have adhered."

The Soviet Representative again denied the need for onsite inspections and contended that national detection systems were fully adequate to control a ban on underground tests.

#### U.S. "FREEZE" AND "CUTOFF" PROPOSALS

The United States continued to urge a verified freeze on the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles, both missiles and aircraft. Such a measure would limit the production of these vehicles to present levels, stop the development of newer types, and constitute one of the most direct and logical ways to halt the nuclear arms race.

Several representatives commented favorably on this idea and some suggested linking it to other measures such as the outright destruction of such vehicles. However, the Soviet Representative dismissed the U.S. proposal as an effort to replace disarmament by measures of control over existing armaments and declared that it was "actually designed to maintain the accumulated resources at their present levels."

As an illustration of its proposal for a verified cutoff in the produc-

tion of fissionable materials for weapons use and the transfer of agreed amounts of such materials to peaceful uses, the United States said that it would be prepared to transfer 60,000 kilograms of weapons grade U-235 to nonweapons use if the U.S.S.R. would agree to transfer 40,000 kilograms. The Soviet Representative rejected this proposal alleging that it "means absolutely nothing from the point of view of the United States nuclear potential." He declared that U.S. military leaders already consider their stockpiles of nuclear weapons to be more than sufficient and that the proposal was designed to establish control over the atomic production of other states while maintaining at present levels the means to wage nuclear war.

#### WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS AND DISMANTLING OF FOREIGN BASES

The Soviet Union again sought support for its longstanding proposal for the withdrawal of troops from foreign countries and for the dismantling of foreign bases. Although a number of delegates from nonaligned nations voiced their opposition to foreign bases and the stationing of troops abroad as a matter of principle, many expressed an awareness that any blanket condemnation of them was unrealistic. The U.S. Representative pointed out on May 17 that the Soviet proposals were not disarmament measures but rather efforts to secure a redeployment of forces in a manner advantageous to the Soviet Union. Considering the likely consequences of such proposals, it was necessary to recall that the Soviet Union had openly supported what it called "wars of national liberation" and that Communist China was engaged in promoting one in Viet-Nam. It was also necessary to recall that the deployment of U.S. forces abroad and the creation of certain bases had been the direct consequence of Soviet threats and aggressive acts following the Second World War.

#### PROHIBITION ON THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The Soviet Union sought the Commission's endorsement of an earlier Ethiopian proposal to convene a conference to ban the use of nuclear weapons. On May 17, the U.S. Representative pointed out that the reasons for U.S. opposition to this proposal were clearly set forth in a letter of June 30, 1962, from Secretary of State Rusk to the U.N. Secretary-General, in which the Secretary had stated:

The United States Government can and does offer the fullest assurances that it will never use any weapon, large or small, with aggressive intent. But the United States, like other free nations, must be fully prepared to exercise effective self-defense as provided in the United Nations Charter . . . . The Charter of the United Nations makes a distinction, not between one weapon and another, but between the use of force for aggression and for defense. This distinction is critical. It is the firm belief of the United States that the only sure way to

eliminate the threat to mankind posed by nuclear weapons is to remove them from the arsenals of the nations through a program of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

#### WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

The Second Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, meeting at Cairo in October 1964, had proposed a world disarmament conference "to which all countries would be invited." This proposal reflected both the desire of many nations to include Communist China in disarmament discussions and the dissatisfaction of some with the progress of disarmament negotiations in the ENDC.

On May 3, 1965, Yugoslavia submitted a memorandum to the Disarmament Commission strongly advocating the convening of a world disarmament conference. This proposal gained wide support, particularly among nonaligned and Soviet bloc countries. However, while many delegates supported the idea, they did not share the U.S.S.R.'s negative view of the ENDC and urged that it resume promptly, giving priority consideration to measures discussed at the Commission and to the convening of a world disarmament conference.

The U.S. Representative acknowledged that the ENDC had not necessarily measured up to all expectations but expressed doubt that the absence of particular countries accounted for the inability to reach agreements. He declared that the difficulties encountered at Geneva would not be erased by modifying the ENDC's composition and noted that this body had proved to be of value in "narrowing the differences that stand in the way of agreement." Subsequently, on June 9, he explained the U.S. position on the question of a world disarmament conference (see page 8).

#### Draft Resolutions

The Commission ended its general debate on May 25. After a short recess it resumed on June 1 and considered five draft resolutions, two submitted by the Soviet Union on May 27, and one each by the United States on June 1, Yugoslavia on June 3, and Sweden on June 4.

#### U.S. PROPOSAL

The U.S. draft resolution urged that the ENDC reconvene as soon as possible to: resume negotiations on a comprehensive treaty banning all nuclear weapon tests; draft an international nonproliferation agreement as called for by the General Assembly in 1961; conclude an agreement to halt all production of fissionable material for weapons use and to transfer to nonweapons use sizable, agreed quantities of such material; and explore a freeze on the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear offensive and defensive delivery vehicles, which would open the path to early reductions in such vehicles.



## SOVIET PROPOSALS

The first Soviet draft resolution called for a conference of all states to conclude a convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons and a declaration by the nuclear states that, pending such a convention, they would not be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The second draft resolution called upon all states maintaining military bases in other countries "to liquidate them forthwith" and asked the states concerned to conclude an agreement "providing for the withdrawal of all foreign troops within their national frontiers."

## SWEDISH PROPOSAL

The Swedish draft, eventually cosponsored by 29 countries, reaffirmed the request of the General Assembly that all states become parties to the limited test ban treaty, and recommended that the ENDC (1) reconvene as early as possible to resume its efforts to develop a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control and to consider proposals for collateral measures; (2) consider "as a matter of priority" the extension of the limited test ban treaty to include underground tests; (3) give "special priority" to the question of a treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, with close attention to suggestions "that agreement could be facilitated by adopting a program of certain related measures"; and (4) keep in mind the principle of converting to programs of economic and social development of the developing countries "a substantial part of the resources gradually released by the reduction of military expenditures."

On June 14 a Brazilian motion to give voting priority to the 29-power draft was approved. The resolution as a whole was adopted on June 15 by a vote of 83 (U.S.) to 1 (Albania), with 18 (Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Guinea, Hungary, Mali, Mongolia, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Yemen) abstentions.

The U.S. Representative explained the U.S. vote, and welcomed the recommendation that the ENDC reconvene as early as possible. He also supported the high priority given to a comprehensive test ban and a nonproliferation agreement, but explained the U.S. understanding that the reference in the text to a "program of certain related measures" did not suggest a delay in implementing those measures on which agreement was immediately possible until others could be agreed upon as well. Although the United States hoped that savings resulting from the implementation of disarmament agreements could be used to enhance the welfare of peoples everywhere, it believed that assistance to developing countries should not be related to fluctuations in national military expenditures but rather to progress made in achieving disarmament agreements.

Immediately following the adoption of the 29-power resolution, the Soviet Representative said that his government would not ask for a vote on its two resolutions. The United States likewise did not press its resolution to a vote.

#### YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL

The Yugoslav draft resolution, cosponsored by 36 countries, welcomed the proposal of the Cairo Non-Aligned Conference for a world disarmament conference of "all countries" and recommended "that the General Assembly give urgent consideration to the above mentioned proposal at its Twentieth session."

The U.S. Representative said on June 9 that the basic question on this issue was whether or not such a conference would actually facilitate disarmament negotiations. In the opinion of the United States such a conference, if held in unpropitious circumstances, would only reflect discord and serve "as a propaganda forum for those whose interest is not in promoting disarmament but in propagating an aggressive point of view." Thus it could worsen rather than improve the atmosphere for disarmament negotiations. Recognizing that the sponsors of this resolution viewed it as a means of associating all militarily significant states with future disarmament talks, the U.S. Representative agreed that sooner or later all such states must participate, but said that until such participation could be achieved on a constructive basis, the United States believed that the primary task was to avoid any action which would delay or make more difficult the achieving of agreements which are "urgently necessary now and are possible even on a more limited basis."

A large majority of Commission members supported the 36-power draft and on June 11 it was adopted by a vote of 89 to 0, with 16 (Congo (Léopoldville), Costa Rica, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Ireland, Israel, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Portugal, Senegal, South Africa, Spain, U.S.) abstentions.

After adopting the two resolutions, the Disarmament Commission adjourned on June 16.

#### *Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC)*

The ENDC met at Geneva from July 27 to September 16, 1965. The principal forum of disarmament negotiations since 1962, its members include Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, France, India, Italy, Mexico, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Sweden, the U.S.S.R., the United Arab Republic, the United



Kingdom, and the United States. France, however, has never participated.

In a message of July 27 to the ENDC, President Johnson said:

I have instructed the American delegation to pursue the following objectives with all the determination and wisdom they can command:

First, to seek agreements that will limit the perilous spread of nuclear weapons, and make it possible for all countries to refrain without fear from entering the nuclear arms race.

Second, to work toward the effective limitation of nuclear weapons and nuclear delivery systems, so that we can diminish present danger as well as prevent expanding peril.

Third, to work for a truly comprehensive test-ban treaty.

William C. Foster, Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), headed the U.S. delegation.

### Measures To Halt The Spread of Nuclear Weapons

On August 17 the United States, after consulting Canada, Italy, and the United Kingdom (other members of the Western Four), tabled a draft treaty under which the nuclear powers would undertake (1) not to transfer nuclear weapons into the national control of any country not having them, either directly, or indirectly through a military alliance; (2) not to assist a non-nuclear country to manufacture nuclear weapons; and (3) not to take any action which would cause an increase in the number of states and other organizations having independent power to use nuclear weapons. For their part, non-nuclear countries would agree not to receive nuclear weapons into their national control and to refrain from manufacturing them. They too would be bound not to take any action that would increase the number of independent nuclear entities.

Under other provisions of the draft treaty, all parties would undertake to facilitate the application of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) or equivalent international safeguards to their peaceful nuclear activities. There were accession and withdrawal clauses similar to those in the 1963 limited test ban treaty, and provision for review after a specified period. The U.S. Representative explained that this review provision was included because of the "wide concern" that a nonproliferation treaty "should be accompanied by progress to halt and reduce rising nuclear stocks."

The Soviet Representative criticized the U.S. draft treaty because it did not preclude the establishment of a multilateral nuclear force (MLF) or an Atlantic nuclear force in which the Federal Republic of Germany would participate. He subsequently charged that the Western Powers were not really trying to solve the nonproliferation

problem and claimed that the U.S. draft treaty by "legalizing" the MLF would leave open a channel of dissemination. "On that basis," he concluded, "it is impossible to arrive at an agreement."

The U.S. Representative stated that the draft treaty would clearly prevent direct or indirect access to nuclear weapons by non-nuclear countries and that it would also prevent the emergence of additional nuclear entities. It would not, however, preclude such nuclear arrangements as the MLF as long as they did not constitute an entity with power to use nuclear weapons independently of the participating nuclear states. He pointed out that under the U.S. draft there could be no new independent nuclear entity unless an existing nuclear power turned over its whole stockpile of nuclear weapons to an international organization and renounced its right of veto over the collective force. He explained that this possibility was left open because the United States did not wish to preclude forever "any new collective political and defense entity . . . in Western Europe." Even then, however, no non-nuclear nation could acquire independent power to use nuclear weapons. Finally, he declared that the MLF, if created, would be fully compatible with the draft treaty and that none of the non-nuclear countries "would acquire nuclear weapons or be able to fire them on the basis of a national decision."

Nonproliferation was also of deep concern to the eight nonaligned members of the ENDC—Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden, and the United Arab Republic. On September 15 they submitted a joint memorandum noting the U.S. draft treaty and expressing regret that the various approaches for an adequate treaty had not yet been reconciled. They took the position that a non-proliferation treaty was only a means to an end, i.e., "general and complete disarmament, and, more particularly, nuclear disarmament." They were convinced therefore that nonproliferation measures should "be coupled with or followed by tangible steps to halt the nuclear arms race and to limit, reduce and eliminate the stocks of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery."

Canada, Italy, and the United Kingdom supported the U.S. draft treaty, although the U.K. Representative told the ENDC that his government would prefer to eliminate the possibility of a European nuclear force free of the veto of an existing nuclear power, which the U.S. proposal left open.

On September 14 the Italian Representative submitted a draft declaration under which the non-nuclear countries would commit themselves not to develop a nuclear capability for a definite time period. The proposal also provided that prior to the expiration of the agreement, the signatories would consult on its possible extension, in light of "the progress which has been made toward international

agreements to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, or to halt the nuclear arms race, and to reduce nuclear arsenals." The Italian Representative explained that his country continued to support the U.S. draft treaty and that the Italian proposal was intended to meet the immediate danger while efforts continued for a general treaty.

The U.S. Representative welcomed the Italian proposal. He also endorsed the Italian view that a nonproliferation treaty should remain the chief objective, and said he hoped for fruitful negotiations at the next session of the ENDC. He thought, however, that if those negotiations became prolonged, the Italian proposal could be a useful interim measure to freeze the situation until a treaty could be achieved.

### Question of a Comprehensive Test Ban

The United States strongly supported the U.N. Disarmament Commission's recommendation that the ENDC consider as a matter of priority the extension of the 1963 limited test ban treaty to cover underground nuclear tests. The U.S. Representative reiterated the U.S. position with regard to the detection and identification of seismic events and reviewed in detail the technical problems of verification. If a worldwide system of large aperture seismic arrays were established, he estimated that it would be possible to *detect* all underground events of seismic magnitude 4.0 or greater and to *identify* as earthquakes 80 percent of events above a few kilotons. This would leave about 45 unidentified events each year in the Soviet Union. Although this number could be reduced by the use of ocean-bottom seismometers, the United States would want assurance that the remaining unidentified events were not nuclear explosions, and it believed that the use of onsite inspections was the only method that would provide this assurance. The U.S. Representative again invited the U.S.S.R. to participate in technical discussions.

The U.A.R. Representative repeated several suggestions he had made in 1964, which included an agreement to stop underground tests above a threshold of seismic magnitude 4.75; a voluntary moratorium on all other underground tests; and an exchange of scientific and technical data. On September 7 the Soviet Representative stated that the first two measures were consistent with the Soviet position that national means were adequate to monitor an underground test ban, and announced that the U.S.S.R. could agree to a threshold test ban coupled with a moratorium. He said nothing about the U.A.R. proposal for an exchange of scientific and technical data, which was later incorporated in a memorandum submitted September 15 by the eight nonaligned members.



Commenting on the Soviet proposals, the U.S. Representative made it clear that the United States remained opposed to an "unverified moratorium." As long as some seismic events remained unidentified, it was essential to have a "means of verifying what has actually taken place." The U.S.S.R., by rejecting verification, was blocking a comprehensive test ban.

### Other Measures

The U.S. Representative urged the Soviet Union to join in exploring possibilities for agreement to halt the nuclear arms race. He renewed the previous U.S. proposal for a verified cutoff of production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes and, in connection with this cutoff, the transfer of agreed quantities of these materials to non-weapons use. He again mentioned President Johnson's 1964 proposal to explore a verified freeze on the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear bombers and missiles.

The Soviet Representative did not engage in any extensive discussion of either U.S. proposal. He merely attacked the fissionable materials cutoff on the ground that it did not provide for the elimination of existing stocks, and he called the freeze on delivery vehicles a "long-since discredited and rejected proposal."

The U.S.S.R. and its supporters continued to press for the withdrawal of foreign troops and the elimination of foreign military bases, and used these demands as a springboard for attacks on the U.S. action in Viet-Nam. They also renewed their proposal made earlier in the U.N. Disarmament Commission for a declaration in which states would pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The U.S. Representative refuted Soviet charges relating to U.S. policy in Viet-Nam and, on the broader issue of foreign troops and bases, noted that the Soviet proposal did not acknowledge the right of states to participate in mutual defense arrangements, a right guaranteed by the U.N. Charter, and to receive friendly forces and bases on their territories in accordance with such arrangements. As for the non-first-use pledge, the U.S. Representative, recalling the contents of the Secretary of State's letter of June 30, 1962 (see page 5), said that he did not consider that this Soviet approach offered any basis for a useful discussion.

### ENDC Report to the General Assembly

Before adjourning on September 16, the ENDC transmitted to the U.N. Disarmament Commission and to the General Assembly a report on its deliberations. The report noted that the ENDC had not reached any specific agreements but believed that its discussions had

been valuable and might facilitate agreement during its future work. The ENDC decided to resume its meetings in Geneva as soon as possible after the 20th General Assembly had concluded its consideration of disarmament.

### *General Assembly Consideration*

The importance which U.N. members attached to early progress in the field of arms control and disarmament, particularly in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, was demonstrated by their emphasis on disarmament problems during the Assembly's general debate. The First (Political and Security) Committee devoted 7 weeks of its 9-week session to the consideration of disarmament agenda items.

### **U.S. Statement**

Speaking in the general debate on September 23, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, voiced the sentiments of other U.N. members when he said that "our search for world order is gravely threatened by a continuing arms race, a race which adds nothing to the world except insecurity and a drain of valuable resources." Declaring that general and complete disarmament is a "necessary and indispensable goal," he suggested that the United Nations concentrate on immediate practical steps to reverse the arms spiral, urged that the draft nonproliferation treaty which the United States had submitted to the ENDC in August become an actual treaty as soon as possible, and urged agreement on a comprehensive test ban treaty. He declared that the United States would insist only on the minimum number and type of inspections essential to give confidence that such a treaty was being observed. To demonstrate the scope of U.S. efforts to advance the science of detecting underground disturbances, he said that the United States would invite members of the United Nations to send qualified observers to the inauguration in October of a large aperture seismic array facility in Montana. (Representatives of 25 nations accepted this invitation and visited the site on October 12 and 13.)

The U.S. Representative repeated the proposals for a freeze of strategic nuclear vehicles, a verified halt in the production of fissionable materials for weapons uses, and the transfer of agreed quantities of such materials to peaceful uses. As a new element of the transfer proposal, he suggested the demonstrated destruction by the United States and the U.S.S.R. of sufficient nuclear weapons from their respective stockpiles to make the agreed amounts of fissionable material available for transfer to peaceful uses.

### Soviet Statement

On September 24 Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko reiterated previous Soviet positions on various disarmament issues and called for a world disarmament conference during mid-1966. He declared that effective disarmament measures depended upon the agreement of all states and that such a conference would provide a method of bringing together all countries of the world, "regardless of whether they are represented in this hall or not." Finally, he requested that a nonproliferation item be added to the agenda and announced that the Soviet Union would immediately circulate its own draft treaty.

The Soviet draft and accompanying explanatory memorandum were circulated the same day and clearly indicated that Soviet nonproliferation efforts were largely designed to prevent the development of NATO nuclear-sharing arrangements. The Soviet memorandum urged immediate agreement to the Soviet draft treaty, which "would completely deny to non-nuclear states both direct and indirect access to such weapons—in their own right or through military alliances."

### Summary of Debate

Discussion in the First Committee, which debated disarmament items from October 18 to December 2, focused on the following major issues.

#### NONPROLIFERATION

The U.S. Representative, William C. Foster, noted that the draft treaty which the United States had offered for negotiation at Geneva in August marked the first time an actual treaty text had been put forward to implement the General Assembly's 1961 call for a nonproliferation agreement. He stressed U.S. opposition to any form of dissemination of nuclear weapons, direct or indirect, and said the United States sought no nuclear-sharing arrangement in NATO that could involve such dissemination. He regretted that the subsequent Soviet draft "continues to focus narrowly on Soviet preoccupations with NATO and does so in a manner which we cannot accept." However, he said the existence of a Soviet draft was encouraging if it indicated that the U.S.S.R. was now prepared to negotiate.

On October 26 the United States submitted a draft resolution which would urge the ENDC to reconvene as early as possible to give special priority to reaching an agreement on a nonproliferation treaty, as well as to related steps to halt and turn back the nuclear arms race. The Soviet Union countered the following day with a draft resolution which would transmit its draft treaty to the ENDC



with the recommendation that agreement be sought on the basis of certain enumerated principles that clearly endorsed the Soviet position.

Most delegates agreed that the details of a nonproliferation treaty could not be negotiated in the Committee, but many hoped to avoid a simple procedural referral of this matter to the ENDC. On November 5 Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden, and the United Arab Republic submitted a draft resolution which called upon the ENDC to reconvene as early as possible to negotiate a nonproliferation treaty based on several general principles, among them that a treaty "should be void of any loopholes which might permit nuclear or non-nuclear powers to proliferate, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons in any form" and that it should also "embody an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of the nuclear and non-nuclear powers."

On November 8 the First Committee agreed to give voting priority to this resolution and it was adopted the same day by a vote of 83 (U.S.) to 0, with 6 (Cuba, France, Guinea, Mali, Pakistan, Romania) abstentions. Both the U.S. and Soviet Representatives then indicated they would not press for a vote on their resolutions.

In explaining his vote, the U.S. Representative said, "We agree that the treaty should not permit the proliferation of nuclear weapons, directly or indirectly, in any form. We agree that there should be no loopholes, and the U.S. draft treaty permits none."

The resolution was adopted in plenary on November 19 by a vote of 93 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 (Cuba, France, Guinea, Pakistan, Romania) abstentions.

#### WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

On November 17 a draft resolution, sponsored by 43 countries, was introduced which endorsed the proposal of the 1964 Cairo Non-Aligned Conference for a world disarmament conference "to which all countries would be invited" and urged consultations with all countries in order to establish a "widely representative preparatory committee" which would take steps to convene such a conference "not later than 1967."

On November 18 the U.S. Representative expressed the belief that a world disarmament conference might hamper the work of the ENDC. He stressed that U.S. reservations were not based on any desire to keep Communist China out of disarmament negotiations. On the contrary, the United States would welcome any serious indication of Communist China's interest in promoting peace and disarmament. He noted that the channels of communication with the Communist Chinese remained open and pointed out that the United

States had held periodic talks with their representatives in Warsaw for several years. However, there had been no evidence that the Communist Chinese leadership was interested in halting the nuclear arms race or in any other meaningful disarmament measures.

The U.S. Representative pointed out that it was clear all members of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies would have to be invited to such a conference. The question remained of how to insure the actual participation of militarily significant countries. Some sort of preparatory body should examine such difficult questions as agenda, participation, site, and timing, and report its recommendations to governments.

Other delegates, including some of the sponsors of this resolution, also stressed the need for careful conference preparations. The Saudi Arabian Representative offered, but did not press to a vote, an amendment which would have asked the "major nuclear powers" (among which he included Communist China) to explore possible areas of agreement on disarmament questions as a prelude to the convening of a conference. The cosponsors of the resolution added a new paragraph urging that all countries be kept informed of the work of the preparatory committee.

In light of this addition and taking into account the statements of the cosponsors, Ambassador Goldberg announced on November 23 that the United States would vote in favor of the draft resolution. He noted that, as Algeria had pointed out previously, it would have the Committee decide only in principle to convene a conference and that the actual decision would be taken later in light of the results of consultations and preparations. He said that the amendment suggested by Saudi Arabia deserved careful consideration and indicated that the United States would be willing to participate in such a small, initial group which might include, in addition, several states that have major peaceful nuclear programs and several that had played leading roles in the development of the idea of a world disarmament conference. However, he reiterated the U.S. view that such a conference needed to be carefully prepared and that the decision on U.S. participation in it would be made in light of these preparations.

On November 23 the Committee adopted the 43-power draft resolution by a vote of 91 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 (France) abstention. It was approved in the General Assembly on November 29 by a vote of 112 (U.S.) to 0, with France abstaining. The Republic of China did not participate in either of these votes.

#### SUSPENSION OF NUCLEAR TESTS

On November 25 Sweden and 34 other countries cosponsored a draft resolution which urged that "all nuclear weapons tests be



suspended," called upon all countries to respect the limited test ban treaty, and requested the ENDC to continue its work on a comprehensive test ban treaty, "taking into account the improved possibilities for international cooperation in the field of seismic detection." The debate on this item showed strong sentiment in favor of a comprehensive treaty with many countries urging a moratorium on further tests pending the conclusion of such a treaty.

The U.S. Representative, Mr. Foster, reiterated U.S. support for a comprehensive test ban but said that a moratorium on underground testing was unacceptable. Despite considerable progress in the improvement of seismic detection methods, it was not possible to dispense with some onsite inspections. However, he repeated that the United States was prepared to take current scientific capabilities into account in discussing the number and types of inspections. He announced that the United States would support the 35-power draft resolution and considered the provision urging the suspension of tests as an expression of the "almost universal desire which we strongly share to bring about the permanent cessation of all testing as soon as possible." In the U.S. view, this could only be accomplished by means of an adequately verified agreement.

On November 26 the Committee adopted this draft resolution by a vote of 86 (U.S.) to 0, with 13 (U.S.S.R.) abstentions. The U.S.S.R. abstained, explaining it had done so because the resolution appeared to be seeking "some new kind of treaty" instead of urging the extension of the limited test ban treaty (which relies on national detection measures to insure compliance) to underground tests. The Soviet Representative charged that the resolution would permit the Western Powers to continue to demand international controls and inspection, which the U.S.S.R. would not accept.

This resolution was approved in a plenary session of the General Assembly on December 3 by a vote of 92 (U.S., Romania) to 1 (Albania), with 14 (Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Guinea, Hungary, Mauritania, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.) abstentions.

#### DENUCLEARIZATION OF AFRICA

On November 26, 28 African nations submitted a draft resolution which reaffirmed the General Assembly's earlier request to all states to respect the continent of Africa as a nuclear-free zone and called upon all states to refrain from using, threatening to use, testing, manufacturing or deploying nuclear weapons on the continent of Africa. The draft also urged the nuclear powers not to transfer nuclear weapons or scientific data to the national control of any state

in any form that might be used to assist in the manufacture or use of nuclear weapons in Africa, and expressed the hope that African states would initiate studies to implement the denuclearization of Africa.

On December 1 the U.S. Representative declared that the United States was in full sympathy with this draft even though some of its provisions contained ambiguities and raised possible difficulties. Concerning the proposed pledge of nonuse of nuclear weapons, he noted the U.S. view that such pledges were unsound, when taken outside the framework of general and complete disarmament. He said, however, that the United States would vote for the draft, "in order to underscore our conviction that a soundly conceived and appropriately implemented nuclear-free zone in Africa would help to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, contribute to peace and stability and facilitate progress toward general and complete disarmament."

The resolution met with widespread approval and on December 1 was adopted in the First Committee by a vote of 105 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 (France, Portugal, South Africa) abstentions. It was approved in plenary on December 3 by a vote of 105 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 (France, Portugal) abstentions. South Africa did not participate in this vote.

#### GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

The debate on general and complete disarmament occasioned another broad attack on most aspects of U.S. foreign policy by the Soviet Union, which declared that the "negative behavior" of the United States in disarmament negotiations was a direct consequence of "its imperialist and aggressive policy" of relying on the arms race and the aggravation of international tension.

In reply the U.S. Representative pointed out that "it should be clear to all who heard the Soviet Representative's polemic this morning why it has not been possible to achieve greater progress at Geneva." Nevertheless, the United States would persist in its efforts there and elsewhere to work for general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

On December 2 the Representative of Cyprus tabled a resolution requesting that the ENDC continue its efforts to reach agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control, as well as on collateral disarmament measures. This resolution was adopted the same day by a vote of 78 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 (Algeria, France, Guinea, Mali, Tanzania) abstentions. On December 3 it was approved in the General Assembly by a vote of 102 (U.S.) to 0, with 6 (Albania, Algeria, France, Guinea, Mali, Tanzania) abstentions.

During the Committee's debate on this item, the Representative of Malta submitted a draft resolution which would have asked the

ENDC to submit to the General Assembly proposals for the establishment of a system of publicizing arms transfers between states. The U.S. Representative expressed doubt that this proposal would contribute effectively to the control of conventional arms races. Many other delegates expressed reservations about this resolution and on December 2 it was rejected in the Committee by a vote of 18 to 19, with 39 (U.S.) abstentions.

### Schedule for the Resumed ENDC

On December 10 the U.S. and U.S.S.R. Representatives notified the chairman of the First Committee that the ENDC would reconvene on January 27, 1966.

### *Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament*

Beginning with the meetings of the U.N. Disarmament Commission in April, the economic and social consequences of disarmament was again a subject of recurring emphasis in various U.N. forums during 1965. There was somewhat less attention than in the past to the research aspects of the subject, although there was general agreement that national studies should be continued.

Stimulated in large part by the interests of the developing countries, debate focused on the link between disarmament and development needs. In both the Disarmament Commission and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), there was a movement to establish the principle, through resolution language, that a substantial part of the resources released through reductions of military expenditures would be used to promote economic and social development in the developing countries.

Although the United States supported the general proposition, it opposed implications in the Disarmament Commission's June 15 resolution that a "substantial" portion of these savings could go to foreign economic assistance, or that they might be related to reductions of military expenditures which do not derive from disarmament agreements (see page 7). The United Kingdom also expressed a strong reservation on this part of the resolution, indicating that national decisions on the use of released resources would have to take account of the need to accelerate the rate of domestic economic growth.

In a general statement to the Commission on disarmament objectives, the U.S. Representative, Mr. Foster, recommended greater attention to the desirability of local and regional initiatives to turn back or head off arms races among the smaller powers. He stressed



that the objective of arms limitation is equally valid for small and major powers and that arms races among the small powers represent not only a threat to world peace but a tragic and unnecessary waste of resources urgently needed for economic development.

### ECOSOC Consideration

In ECOSOC, debate concerned both the research and policy aspects of the subject. The Council had before it the Secretary-General's May 1965 report, which included replies of governments to his request for information on national activities to facilitate the conversion to peaceful needs of resources released by disarmament. The report also summarized the conclusions and recommendations of the Inter-Agency Committee on the Conversion to Peaceful Needs of the Resources Released by Disarmament. This Committee, composed of representatives of each of the Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency, was established in 1964 to work with the Secretary-General on the economic and social effects of disarmament. The Inter-Agency Committee felt that the lack of concrete information constituted a major obstacle to further fruitful research at the international level, and recommended a questionnaire for circulation to governments, to obtain the factual basis for studies. The Secretary-General emphasized the need for an adequate response to the questionnaire if the United Nations and the agencies concerned were to continue meaningful research.

There was general approval of the businesslike review of research requirements undertaken in the Inter-Agency Committee, and of the recommendations for a realistic and factual approach. A number of delegations suggested that no further resolutions on this matter were necessary in view of the directives and resolutions already adopted, and that the Council should merely note the Secretary-General's report. The U.S.S.R. laid particular stress on the untimeliness of further action in the light of the Viet-Nam conflict. There was, however, some sentiment in favor of a resolution, and Pakistan tabled a draft.

Debate on the draft resolution revealed disagreements both of a procedural and policy nature. The U.S.S.R. continued to question the need for any resolution at all and appealed to the Pakistan Representative to withdraw it. The United States and the United Kingdom objected to reference in a preambular paragraph to the use of a "substantial" part of released resources for developing countries, on grounds that it was not feasible for the developed countries even to imply that they could transfer resources of that magnitude, or for the developing countries, in the foreseeable future, to absorb capital of the volume suggested.



The U.S. and U.K. reservations were taken into account by Pakistan in a revision of the draft which dealt solely with the research aspects of the problem and was adopted unanimously. The final resolution noted the report of the Secretary-General; recommended that national studies of economic and social consequences of disarmament be continued and transmitted to the Secretary-General as feasible; requested the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed of studies in this area; and decided to consider this item again at its 1966 summer session.

Subsequently, on October 29, the Secretary-General forwarded the questionnaire recommended by the Inter-Agency Committee to member governments, requesting replies by March 1, 1966.

### General Assembly Consideration

The General Assembly dealt with the use of resources released by disarmament both in the general debate and in its Second (Economic and Financial) Committee. In the debate, delegates' statements were for the most part of a general nature and moderate in tone, although there was a recurring stress on the heavy burden of arms programs and their drain on resources needed to combat hunger, illness, and illiteracy throughout the world. The developing countries in particular emphasized the close relationship between disarmament and economic and social progress. On October 5 Pope Paul VI addressed the Assembly, making an eloquent appeal for the reduction of arms and the use of at least part of the savings for the benefit of the developing countries.

In a statement to the Second Committee, the U.S. Representative, James Roosevelt, said that his government was prepared to use part of the savings of resources released through disarmament agreements under effective international control for the economic development of the developing countries. The U.S. Representative also referred to the comprehensive program of work on the economic consequences of disarmament undertaken by the United States and said that the results of this research would be made available to the United Nations.

Although some representatives questioned the value of further "theoretical" studies at this time, only Albania in the Second Committee voted against a resolution that confined itself to the study aspects of the problem of resource conversion. In plenary this resolution was adopted unanimously and without debate. The operative paragraphs were essentially the same as those in the ECOSOC resolution.

### Discussion in Other Bodies

Several of the Specialized Agencies and related organs also considered the question of the economic and social consequences of disarmament.

Discussion in the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) was briefer and in lower key than in previous years. For the first time in 5 years, the Eastern Europeans did not propose a resolution on the subject, and none was discussed or adopted. The Commission had before it the Executive Secretary's progress report on a preliminary investigation of the impact of demobilization on civilian employment in the ECE region. Only 11 countries, all Western, had responded to the statistical inquiry. The U.S. Representative, Walter M. Kotschnig, supported the Executive Secretary's recommendation that member governments should be provided another year in which to submit data, at which time a judgment could be made as to whether it would be worthwhile to continue the study.

At the International Labor Organization (ILO) General Conference, a resolution introduced by the Ukrainian Representative was discussed and amended in a constructive atmosphere in committee and unanimously adopted by the Conference without debate. The text of the resolution called upon the Director General to continue to work closely in this field with the Inter-Agency Committee, to prepare for the information of the ILO Governing Body a report on work already done by the ILO, and to keep the Conference and the Governing Body informed of all developments.

## OUTER SPACE

The U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (Outer Space Committee) is composed of 28 states appointed by the General Assembly, and has two subcommittees of the whole—a Legal Subcommittee and a Scientific and Technical Subcommittee. The latter did not meet in 1965.

### *Legal Subcommittee*

The Legal Subcommittee of the Outer Space Committee held its fourth session in New York from September 20 through October 1, 1965. It continued consideration of draft international agreements on (1) assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles, and (2) liability for damage caused by objects launched into outer space. This task had been entrusted to the Outer Space Committee by a

General Assembly resolution in 1963. The U.S. delegation was headed by Leonard C. Meeker, Legal Adviser of the Department of State.

On the first topic—assistance and return—many areas of agreement had emerged in previous sessions, and the U.S. delegation hoped that the Subcommittee's work could reach a successful conclusion. The Soviet Union, however, was clearly unprepared to reach agreement. The major issue in the discussions was Soviet insistence that astronauts and space vehicles should not be returned to their country of origin unless launched in accordance with the General Assembly's Declaration of Legal Principles. The U.S. Representative pointed out that this criterion would be open to subjective interpretations and that the Declaration itself did not include any conditions or restrictions on the obligation to return astronauts and spacecraft.

The pending draft agreement on liability, basically more complex than the matter of assistance and return, involved a greater number of unresolved technical and legal problems. Both the United States and Hungary introduced modified drafts, and some new areas of agreement evolved among the members of the Subcommittee. At the end of the session, the chairman presented a draft report that listed all such areas of agreement. The U.S.S.R. objected to this procedure, refusing to accept language in the report which implied agreement except on the most general points of principle. For the most part, therefore, the report stated only that there had been an "exchange of views" on various aspects of a liability agreement.

Later, commenting on the work of the Subcommittee in a speech before the General Assembly on December 18, Ambassador Goldberg said: ". . . the basic problem that has arisen does not seem connected to the substance of the draft agreements. Surely, however, progress is possible if all members of the Space Committee approach the problem with determination not to let external political problems interfere with negotiations."

### *Outer Space Committee*

The Outer Space Committee met briefly at U.N. Headquarters on May 27, 1965, to elect a successor to its retiring Chairman, Ambassador Franz Matsch of Austria. The Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations, Ambassador Kurt Waldheim, was elected unanimously.

The Outer Space Committee held its regular seventh session in New York from October 5 through October 8. Speaking in the general debate, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador James M. Nabrit, Jr., focused on cooperative enterprises the United States has undertaken.



He also noted that much of the Committee's work of the previous year had already produced good results. As an example, he mentioned the Committee's publication on needs and facilities of U.N. member countries for education and training in space-related subjects. This document, based on a recommendation made by the Committee in 1964, included a lengthy and detailed U.S. contribution on opportunities for education and training open to nationals of other states.

In its report to the General Assembly, the Committee reaffirmed its recommendations of 1964, on which the General Assembly had not taken action because of the article 19 impasse. The Committee also expressed the hope that the Legal Subcommittee would be able to overcome existing difficulties and make more progress.

As there had been no meeting of a working group established the previous year to examine the question of an international space conference or meeting in 1967, the Committee took no action on this subject but requested that the working group meet on January 18, 1966.

### *20th General Assembly*

Speaking before the 20th General Assembly on September 23, 1965, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, recalled that in 1958 the first resolution of the Assembly on the peaceful uses of outer space had recognized "the common aim that outer space should be used for peaceful purposes only." "That principle," he said, "is one to which we fully subscribed then and to which we fully subscribe now." He went on to say that, in accordance with ground rules established by the Assembly, "our space activities have been, and will continue to be, nonaggressive, peaceful, and beneficial in character."

The U.S. Representative then made a new proposal:

Instruments from earth have already reached the moon and photographed Mars. And man will soon follow. Accordingly, we suggest that the United Nations begin work on a comprehensive treaty on the exploration of celestial bodies.

The General Assembly's First (Political and Security) Committee considered the Outer Space Committee's report on December 18 and 20, 1965. The U.S. Representative outlined his concept of the United Nations role:

If I could name one ideally appropriate theme for United Nations consideration, that theme would be peaceful cooperation in outer space. Our Organization offers a unique opportunity to examine not the technical details of space activities but the manner in which these activities are carried out. Are they pursued in cooperation with other nations? Are they conducted in accordance with inter-



national law, the Charter of the United Nations, and the resolutions of the General Assembly? Are they managed openly and generously so as to make their benefits available to states in varying stages of economic and scientific development? What benefits do they actually bring to mankind and what is their promise for the future? I do not intend to review my country's scientific and technical achievements but rather to address myself to these essential questions.

It is fitting today to emphasize programs of direct interest to the developing countries and the Member States who do not have large space programs, for it is not only a few major powers who will benefit from the newest frontier. The potential values of space—and we know enough now to feel certain of such values—should be common to the world.

As the first example of such benefits, he mentioned the weather satellite program—"now a practical reality." He urged developing countries to avail themselves directly of this new technique for modern weather forecasts. He noted that the first TIROS operational satellite would be launched in 1966, following 11 successful experimental satellites, and that the satellites already in orbit provided warnings of the existence of storms, particularly in the tropical latitudes and in the Southern Hemisphere.

In terms of immediate practical benefits, the U.S. Representative believed that satellite communications, like weather satellites, ranked high on the list. He recalled that in April the international commercial communications satellite system, which included 47 participants from all areas of the world, had become an operational reality as the "Early Bird" synchronous satellite went into position. He expressed the view that this was a giant step toward fulfillment of the provision in the Assembly's 1961 resolution that "communication by means of satellites should be available to the nations of the world as soon as practicable on a global and non-discriminatory basis."

Passing to opportunities for cooperation in scientific research, the U.S. Representative mentioned the U.S. program under which foreign scientists are invited to propose individual experiments for inclusion in the larger NASA satellites. He also reviewed joint projects using small sounding rockets, involving some 17 countries, and recent cooperative satellite projects with Italy, Canada, and France.

The U.S. Representative pointed out that, to provide a larger base for future international cooperation, the United States offered many opportunities for education and training in space-related subjects. In this connection he stated that during 1965, 85 resident research associates from 24 countries were working at NASA centers, 78 international fellows from 17 countries were studying at American universities, and 91 technical trainees from 7 countries were in the United States for training in various of NASA's cooperative projects.

Stressing that space exploration must be carried out in an open and generous manner, the U.S. Representative said:

Just this month, 67 members of the Washington Diplomatic Corps accepted our invitation to visit Cape Kennedy to witness the Gemini 7 launching. Never had so many official representatives of foreign governments been there at one time, but the visit was no new departure. Some of you recall that all but one or two members of the United Nations Outer Space Committee visited the Cape in 1962. Since 1958 more than 15,000 individuals from 108 countries have visited NASA installations. If any of my distinguished colleagues would like to visit Cape Kennedy or other NASA centers in the future, I invite them to get in touch with me.

The United States and 12 other members of the Outer Space Committee (Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, Morocco, Sweden, and the United Kingdom) cosponsored a draft resolution on international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space for the First Committee's approval. On the legal side, the draft resolution urged the Outer Space Committee to "continue with determination" the preparation of the two draft agreements before it, and to give consideration to incorporating in international agreement form, in the future as appropriate, legal principles governing the activities of states in the exploration and use of outer space.

The resolution also endorsed the Outer Space Committee's recommendations concerning exchange of information, education and training, international sounding rocket facilities, potentially harmful effects of space experiments, and encouragement of international programs; welcomed the Committee's intention to continue the preparation of various publications; singled out for support the dissemination of information by the Secretary-General on needs and facilities for education and training in space-related subjects; noted with appreciation the progress reports of the World Meteorological Organization and the International Telecommunication Union; and broke new ground in according U.N. sponsorship to the International Equatorial Sounding Rocket Launching Facility at Thumba, India.

In addition, the resolution specifically endorsed several objectives that have been conspicuous aspects of the U.S. space program. It noted with appreciation that a number of member states had cooperated extensively with the Committee's program by providing information on their space activities and urged others to do so. Similar language applauded the educational and training programs established by certain member states. The resolution urged "that

space activities be carried out in such a manner that States may share in the adventure and the practical benefits of space exploration irrespective of the stage of their economic or scientific development."

Cameroon and the United Arab Republic jointly submitted two draft amendments to the resolution. The first was a preambular paragraph reading: "Convinced that to benefit mankind the exploration and use of outer space should be carried out solely for peaceful purposes. . . ." The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, accepted the amendment, making clear our position that "peaceful" means "nonaggressive" rather than "nonmilitary." The test of any space activity, he said, must not be whether it is military or nonmilitary, but whether it is consistent with the U.N. Charter and other obligations of international law.

After the U.S. Representative had announced his intention of voting favorably, however, the U.A.R. Representative said that "some delegations" needed time to consider the amendment, and that in the interest of "expediting matters," the United Arab Republic and Cameroon would not insist on a vote.

The second proposed amendment, which was approved by the First Committee, urged the Outer Space Committee to propose suggestions for programs of education and training in the peaceful uses of outer space to assist the developing countries. The U.S. Representative supported this proposal and, as a subamendment, suggested language making a clear reference to the role of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat in helping the Committee undertake this task. This subamendment was adopted by the First Committee over Soviet opposition.

On December 20 the First Committee adopted the resolution by a vote of 98 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention. The following day the General Assembly, in plenary session, adopted the resolution unanimously.

### *Space Launch Registration*

In accordance with the General Assembly's 1961 resolution, the United States continued in 1965 to submit semimonthly reports to the U.N. Secretary-General on all objects launched into orbit or beyond. This information is furnished for inclusion in the public registry established by the United Nations.



## PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

### *Relations Among States*

#### Peaceful Settlement of Disputes

On August 19, 1965, the United Kingdom requested the inclusion of an item entitled "Peaceful Settlement of Disputes" on the agenda of the 20th General Assembly. An accompanying explanatory memorandum stressed the importance of peaceful settlement to international peace and order and expressed the conviction that a study of the broadest character, including the legal and political aspects of peaceful settlement, would be of great value. The Assembly's General Committee recommended inscription of the item without objection.

Introducing the item in the Special Political Committee on December 16, the U.K. Representative said that not enough had been accomplished in fulfilling the purposes of the Charter with respect to the peaceful settlement of disputes. He considered it essential that the General Assembly at its 20th session take a new initiative and set a course for the future. Among the questions deserving study were: the causes of the reluctance of states to resort to methods of peaceful settlement; how member states could be encouraged to make greater use of available facilities and procedures for peaceful settlement; and steps which might be taken to improve the methods and institutions related to peaceful settlement.

Afghanistan, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Ceylon, Finland, Iran, Jamaica, Japan, the Malagasy Republic, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States submitted a draft resolution which provided for the establishment of a committee to study the question of the peaceful settlement of disputes, taking into account both the political and legal aspects of the question and the means that had been or might usefully be adopted to facilitate peaceful settlement, and to report its conclusions and recommendations to the 21st General Assembly.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, expressed complete support of the U.K. initiative, stating that "peaceful settlement, in our view, is not only a requirement for survival. It is also, together with disarmament and peacekeeping, one of the three interdependent elements of a decent world order." In referring to commitments assumed under the Charter, in particular under article 2(3), he stressed that the duty to settle disputes peacefully is an obligation which continues from the moment the dispute develops to its final settlement, even though armed conflict may have



broken out, and he affirmed that the United States was prepared to settle peacefully every dispute to which it is a party. The U.S. Representative urged greater use of existing machinery for peaceful settlement, emphasizing in particular resort to judicial settlement. He stated that the United States stands ready to take to the International Court of Justice any outstanding dispute on any matter of international law with any other country that, like the United States, has accepted the Court's compulsory jurisdiction. Finally, he expressed the hope that adoption of the resolution would lead to improvements in the institutions devoted to peaceful settlement.

A number of states spoke in favor of the resolution. The Soviet Representative, however, opposed it, contending that the principle of peaceful settlement was already fully covered in chapter VI of the U.N. Charter and asserting that the true reason for the unsatisfactory state of world affairs lay not in the inadequacy of the machinery provided for in the Charter, but in the policies of the colonial powers. He claimed that creation of the committee proposed in the draft resolution would be detrimental to the purposes and principles of the Charter, to peace and security, and to the interests of small countries.

During the debate, several countries supported a proposal by the Representative of Ghana that further study be given the draft resolution and that the vote be postponed until the 21st General Assembly. While not opposed to the spirit of the resolution, the Ghanaian Representative thought consideration of the draft should be adjourned *sine die*. On December 21 the Ghanaian proposal was adopted by a vote of 48 to 27 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions. The United States and several other delegations expressed disappointment that the debate on such an important item should be adjourned even though a number of representatives wished to speak on the substance of the question.

### Nonintervention

In his general debate speech on September 24, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko proposed that the Assembly consider as an important and urgent matter the question, "The Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty." The same day, the U.S.S.R. formally requested this item be placed on the Assembly's agenda, requested circulation of the customary explanatory memorandum, and—before delegations had the opportunity to study the memorandum—sought to have the General Committee place the item on the agenda and allocate it to consideration in plenary session, rather than by a main committee. On September 27 the General Committee

recommended inscription, but also recommended the item be considered by the First (Political and Security) Committee. These recommendations were accepted by the Assembly on September 28.

The explanatory memorandum submitted by the Soviet Union stated that international tension had increased and that certain powers were seeking to impede the advance of history by aggressive acts and intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign states and against peoples fighting colonial domination. Claiming that a large group of African, Asian, and Latin American countries was seeking the adoption of effective measures for their protection against foreign intervention, the U.S.S.R. urged the United Nations to make an effort to insure the application of the principle set forth in article 2(4) of the U.N. Charter, which states: "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."

At the same time, the U.S.S.R. submitted a draft declaration which reiterated the essence of the memorandum; reaffirmed that "every sovereign state and every people" have an inalienable right to freedom and independence and to defend their sovereignty; demanded that acts constituting intervention, as well as any acts directed against the "just struggles of peoples for national independence and freedom" should be halted; called upon all states to be guided by the principle of nonintervention; and warned those states engaged in intervention that they were assuming thereby "a heavy burden of international responsibility before all peoples."

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

When the Soviet Representative introduced the item in the First Committee on December 3, he charged the Western Powers with committing aggression and interfering in the internal affairs of states. He attacked in particular U.S. actions and policies in Viet-Nam, the Dominican Republic, and the Congo as examples of unlawful intervention in the domestic affairs of other states.

In the extended debate which followed, many representatives expressed an interest in drawing up a declaration on nonintervention. Representatives from Latin America described in detail the development of the principle of nonintervention in the Western Hemisphere. Representatives of African states elaborated in particular on the relationship of intervention to colonialism and the self-determination of peoples. Many representatives implied that the Soviet draft was incomplete and urged that a declaration by the General Assembly

should deal with all aspects of intervention, including indirect aggression, subversion, and political and economic techniques of intervention.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, on December 10 expressed disappointment that the Soviet Union saw fit to reintroduce cold war polemics into the General Assembly. After reviewing in detail the U.S. position on Viet-Nam, he turned to the basic principles of nonintervention implicit in article 2 (4) of the U.N. Charter. He also noted that article 2 (6) commits the United Nations to insure that the basic principles of the Charter are observed by all states whether or not members of the United Nations. He stressed that intervention may be direct—the invasion of one state by another, for example—or indirect. It is the latter—for example, when a government promotes and organizes armed guerrilla bands, inspires terrorism, and clandestinely employs its own troops—which is so dangerous in the modern world, and which is often pursued by Communist states under the label “wars of national liberation.” As concrete examples he listed the military activity by North Viet-Nam against Laos, Communist guerrilla bands in Thailand, intervention against the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cuban activities in Latin America, and, most perilous of all, North Viet-Nam’s actions against South Viet-Nam. He said:

These are the examples of intervention which threaten world peace. The issue we face . . . is whether the world can permit the continuation of this modern type of intervention. . . . On our part and in company with many others who have spoken here, we challenge this doctrine of indirect intervention and we should make it crystal clear through our actions and our words that the world community cannot and will not tolerate such activity.

If states would determine to live up to their Charter commitments and to make a basic decision not to harm their neighbors, the U.S. Representative concluded, “Such resolve and such action would inevitably lead to a world community where peace is real, not a slogan, and where the principles of our charter would not be distant goals but in fact reflect the behavior of all of us.”

#### COMPROMISE TEXT

During the debate, a number of amendments and alternatives to the Soviet draft were tabled. The United States presented an extensive series of amendments designed to bring the Soviet draft into accord with the Charter and to cover modern techniques of intervention. After lengthy private negotiations by the sponsors of the various declarations and amendments, representatives from among the cosponsors of the Latin American and Afro-Asian drafts developed a compromise declaration.



The declaration, which was sponsored by 57 states and tabled on December 18, expressed concern at the gravity of the international situation and the threat to peace due to armed intervention and other direct or indirect forms of interference; recalled the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; reaffirmed the principle of nonintervention proclaimed in the charters of regional organizations and at such international conferences as those held at Montevideo, Bogotá, Belgrade, and Cairo; equated armed intervention with aggression; and stated that direct intervention, subversion, and all forms of indirect intervention violate the U.N. Charter. The declaration went on to affirm that no state had the "right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State" and that "consequently, armed intervention and all other forms of interference or attempted threats against the personality of the State or against its political, economic, and cultural elements are condemned."

The declaration further stated that "no State may use or encourage the use of economic, political or any other type of measures to coerce another State" and that no State may "organize, assist, foment, finance, incite, or tolerate subversive, terrorist, or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow" of another government or "interfere in civil strife in another State," and that "the use of force to deprive people of their national identity" violates the principle of nonintervention. It also affirmed the right of self-determination and the importance of the complete elimination of racial discrimination and colonialism. Finally, it noted that nothing in the declaration should be construed as "affecting in any manner" the relevant provisions of the U.N. Charter concerning the maintenance of international peace and security.

The First Committee adopted the declaration on December 20 by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 (Australia, Belgium, Netherlands, New Zealand, U.K.) abstentions.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, explained that the United States voted for the declaration because of a profound opposition to all intervention contrary to the U.N. Charter and the general principles of international law. While the United States would not have drawn up the declaration in the precise terms used, the political condemnation of intervention represented by the declaration would help to alert the world to its dangers. After expressing disappointment that the declaration did not deal more directly with measures that states could take to protect themselves against intervention, he stated that that defect was partially remedied by the inclusion of the final paragraph which made clear that the declaration should not affect the provisions of the Charter relating to peace and



security. Thus the declaration would not derogate from the Charter provision authorizing action by regional organizations nor from the essential right of all sovereign states to individual or collective self-defense.

While the declaration was an important statement of political attitude and policy, the U.S. Representative pointed out, it could not be considered as a declaration or elaboration of the law governing nonintervention, a question which the Assembly had given to the Special Committee on Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States. The U.S. vote on the declaration, therefore, was without prejudice to the position it would take in the Special Committee. The U.S. Representative concluded by saying his delegation favored the declaration because it supported self-determination and cultural plurality, and because it spoke out clearly with respect to the new forms of indirect aggression which have plagued the world in recent years.

On December 21 the General Assembly adopted the declaration on nonintervention by a vote of 109 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 (U.K.) abstention.

### Improvement of Relations Among European States

At the request of Romania, the 15th session of the General Assembly (1960) had included in its agenda an item entitled "Actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighborly relations among European States having different social and political systems." The item was not discussed, however, because of lack of time. Romania took no further action on the matter until September 25, 1963, when it asked that the item be placed on the agenda of the 18th General Assembly. Again the item was included in the agenda, but the Assembly recommended that consideration be deferred until the 19th session. Because that session formally considered only a few essential items of business, the question was referred to the 20th General Assembly for action.

The First (Political and Security) Committee opened discussion of this item on December 17, 1965, with presentation by the Romanian Representative of a draft resolution cosponsored by his delegation and those of Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Sweden, and Yugoslavia. On December 18, the Committee recommended adoption of the resolution to the General Assembly, which approved it on December 21 by acclamation. Under the resolution the Assembly welcomed the growing interest in the development of good neighborly relations and cooperation among European states having different social and political systems; emphasized the importance of maintaining and increasing contacts between those states, with a view to strengthening peace and security in Europe; requested

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European governments to intensify efforts to improve reciprocal relations, with a view to creating an atmosphere conducive to effective consideration of the problems still hampering relaxation of tension in Europe and throughout the world; and decided to continue giving its attention to measures and action for promoting good neighborly relations and cooperation in Europe.

In explaining U.S. support for the resolution, Ambassador James M. Nabrit, Jr., told the First Committee on December 18 that we did so "because we support fully the goals and interests of its co-sponsors in their efforts to assist the process of improving relations at the European level."

### *Cyprus*

Cyprus continued during 1965 to require a major share of the United Nations attention. Because of the outstanding performance of the U.N. Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and the skill of Ambassador Carlos Bernardes of Brazil, the Secretary-General's Special Representative to Cyprus, only one serious armed confrontation between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities occurred during the year, and a large measure of peace existed on the island. No progress was made, however, in finding a viable solution to the deep conflict underlying the surface calm. In the absence of such progress, financial and material support for the vital peacekeeping force became increasingly difficult to obtain.

### U.N. Mediation Effort

The Security Council resolution of March 4, 1964, recommended that the Secretary-General designate a mediator to use his best endeavors with the representatives of the communities and with the Governments of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, and the United Kingdom "for the purpose of promoting a peaceful solution and an agreed settlement of the problem confronting Cyprus, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, having in mind the well-being of the people of Cyprus as a whole and the preservation of international peace and security."

Galo Plaza Lasso of Ecuador became Mediator on September 16, 1964, following the death of Ambassador Sakari Tuomioja of Finland. On March 26, 1965, he submitted a report on his activities up to that date, setting forth some informal observations aimed at "providing the parties with a basis for coming together in direct discussions." He thought it "logical to expect that the agreed settlement will not be one which merely restores the situation existing before 1963 and

that, by agreeing to the settlement, the parties would necessarily agree also formally to abrogate or at least modify" the 1960 treaties. He suggested that it would be "an act of enlightened statesmanship—as well as a sovereign act of self-determination in the highest sense—if the Government of Cyprus were in the superior interests of the security of the State and the peace of the region to undertake to maintain the independence of the Republic," implying a decision to refrain from giving the population the opportunity to opt for union with Greece. The Mediator felt strongly that everything possible must be done to insure the protection of the Turkish Cypriot community, but considered the Turkish proposals for the geographic separation of the communities to be impracticable on political, economic, social, and moral grounds. Instead, he suggested the establishment in Cyprus of the most rigorous possible guarantees of human rights and safeguards against discrimination, with assistance to Turkish Cypriots wishing to resettle in Turkey, and special transitional measures to insure to the Turkish Cypriot community a proper voice in its traditionally communal affairs and an equitable part in the public life of the country as a whole. The possibility that the United Nations could act as guarantor of the terms of a settlement might be explored. There being, in his view, no further advantage in his holding separate consultations with the parties, he formally recommended that the parties try to meet together, with or without his presence, on the earliest occasion.

In a letter of March 31 to the Secretary-General, the Turkish Representative conveyed his government's view that the U.N. Mediator's report contained sections that went beyond his terms of reference as specified in the Security Council's March 4, 1964, resolution and that those sections could not be taken into consideration, could not be entertained as a mediation effort, and could not constitute in any manner a basis for future efforts. It must be deemed, the letter stated, that Galo Plaza's functions as a Mediator had come to an end upon the publication of his report. "At any rate," the letter continued, "the Turkish Government can no longer expect positive results from the continued mediation efforts of a person who has given vent to his convictions on the substance of the question without the agreement of all parties concerned."

The Secretary-General in his reply of April 1 said he had found nothing in the Mediator's report that he could consider as going beyond the March 4, 1964, resolution. He did not think any action on his part affecting the status of the Mediator was called for, and he appealed to the Turkish Government not to insist that the services of the Mediator had come to an end, because he feared such a position might well mean the end of the mediation effort itself.



The position of the Government of Cyprus on the Mediator's report was set forth in a statement of April 8 and communicated to the Secretary-General on April 12. The Government of Cyprus considered that most of the findings in the report constituted a constructive approach to the problem. It could not, however, agree with what it termed a recommendation for self-restriction with respect to the exercise of the right of self-determination as long as there existed a "danger to peace caused by the Turkish threat to use force." The right of the people of Cyprus to decide their future could not be restricted, the Cyprus Government said, because of the threat of force by one member of the United Nations against another. In conclusion, the Government of Cyprus stated that it wished the Mediator's work to be continued.

Although at the Secretary-General's request the Mediator remained at the disposition of the parties, there was no further activity in the mediation field in 1965.

### Security Council Consideration

#### FIRST MEETING: AUGUST 3-10, 1965

In a letter of July 30, 1965, the Turkish Representative to the United Nations requested a meeting of the Security Council "to consider the grave situation arising from . . . unlawful and provocative acts of the Greek Cypriot Government of Cyprus." On July 31, 1965, the Representative of Cyprus also requested an emergency meeting of the Council to discuss his government's complaint against the Government of Turkey "for acts of intervention" and "for the threat of the use of force against [the] territorial integrity and political independence" of Cyprus.

At the Council's first meeting on these complaints on August 3, the Turkish Representative charged the "Greek Cypriot regime" with illegal attempts (through two legislative acts, one extending the term of office of the Greek part of the executive and legislative organs and the other amending the electoral law unilaterally) to abolish certain rights afforded the Turkish Cypriots by the Zurich and London Agreements of 1959 and the Cypriot Constitution of 1960. He appealed to the Council to put itself on record against such action, which he said was likely to endanger the peace of the island and was in violation of the Cypriot Constitution, international treaties, and the Security Council resolution of March 4, 1964. The Representative of Cyprus countered that the Turkish complaint was "frivolous," that there was no tension on the island, that the subject of the Turkish complaint fell exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of Cyprus, and that Turkey was threatening armed intervention in violation of

the U.N. Charter and resolutions of the Security Council. He reiterated his government's view that the Zurich and London Agreements were invalid.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, stated on August 5 that the Secretary-General's report of July 29 on the electoral situation in Cyprus revived the serious concern which the situation there had so often occasioned during the previous year and a half. It appeared from the report that the Greek Cypriot members of Parliament, faced with the expiration of their mandate on August 16, had by law extended their mandate and that of the government in office for up to an additional year without the necessity of elections. He added that, according to the Secretary-General's report, the Government of Cyprus had not been content to try to extend its mandate but had gone one step further to amend the electoral law. He noted that the Turkish Cypriots, the Government of Turkey, and at least one other of the Guarantor Powers, the United Kingdom, considered the action inconsistent with the London-Zurich Agreements and the Constitution of Cyprus. One did not, the U.S. Representative stated, have to invoke legal judgments to recognize that the action could hardly qualify as "restrained" within the terms of the March 4, 1964, Security Council resolution. The U.S. Representative reiterated that the basic elements of the U.S. approach to the problem of Cyprus remained those set forth in that resolution. The United States still maintained that treaties cannot be amended or abrogated unilaterally and that the solution to the Cyprus problem must be, in the words of the March 4 resolution, "agreed" and "peaceful." The U.S. Representative suggested the Council join the Secretary-General in urging the communities on the island and all others concerned, in the language of the March 4 resolution, to "act with the utmost restraint" and to "refrain from any action or threat of action likely to worsen the situation in the sovereign Republic of Cyprus or to endanger international peace." He urged also unremitting efforts by all parties to reach a negotiated solution to the problem of Cyprus.

On August 10 the Council unanimously adopted a resolution sponsored by Bolivia, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Malaysia, Netherlands, and Uruguay. The resolution noted the Secretary-General's report that recent developments in Cyprus had increased tension there, reaffirmed the Council's resolution of March 4, 1964, and called upon all parties to avoid any action likely to worsen the situation.

#### SECOND MEETING: NOVEMBER 5, 1965

On November 4 the Turkish Representative requested an emergency meeting of the Council to consider the "extremely dangerous and ex-

plosive situation created by a new Greek Cypriot armed attack . . . against the Turkish quarter of the port city of Famagusta." When the Council met on November 5, it had before it the Secretary-General's report on the situation. In the debate the Turkish Representative charged that 10,000 Turkish Cypriots were under attack by Greek Cypriot forces. He appealed to the Council to take any measures it might deem appropriate to obtain the observance of its resolutions and stated that the attack should be stopped and that the Greek Cypriots should be called upon to withdraw from the positions they had occupied. The Representative of Cyprus countered that this account of events in Famagusta on November 2 and 4 was "completely untrue" as the Turkish Representative had put it before the Council, that the actual firing was started by the Turkish Cypriots, that there was a "continuous wave of provocation" on the part of the Turkish Cypriots, and that the Secretary-General reported the cease-fire was being observed.

In the Council's discussion the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, said:

The current difficulty starts, judging by paragraph 3 of the Secretary-General's report of today, from the construction of new fortifications by the Cypriot National Guard, certain ones of which were built against the specific advice of the Force Commander of the United Nations Forces in Cyprus. When Turkish Cypriot positions were in response constructed, a serious situation was produced which has resulted in the incidents of November 2 and 4 described in the Secretary-General's report.

It should be apparent to the people on the ground that incidents of the nature we are considering here which arise from marginal maneuvering for military advantages produce repercussions vastly out of proportion to any possible purpose which those responsible for them might feel is served. . . .

It seems to me clear that when we call upon the parties to cooperate as we have done in the past, we should expect cooperation not only in the sense of observing ceasefires worked out by the U.N. Force in Cyprus, but also in the sense of accepting the well-considered and impartial suggestion which the Force and its Commander put forward in an effort to avoid the build-up of dangerous tension. . . .

After consulting the members of the Council and taking into account the statements of Turkey, Cyprus, and Greece, and the Secretary-General's report, the President of the Council for November concluded the Security Council's November 5 consideration of the Famagusta events by appealing to all the parties "to give evidence of the utmost moderation and to co-operate in the total application of the Council's resolutions, and to refrain from any action likely to worsen the situation in Cyprus."



## 20th General Assembly Consideration

In a letter of July 13, 1965, the Representative of Cyprus requested that an item entitled "Question of Cyprus" be included in the agenda of the 20th session. In an explanatory memorandum of September 22, the Cypriot Representative stated that the Zurich and London Agreements of 1959 "were in effect intended to rob Cyprus of the very substance of its sovereignty and its internal independence and to place it under the tutelage of three foreign Powers." He charged the "divisive policy and hostile actions" of Turkey were aimed at forcing partition of the island and said that Cyprus looked to the Assembly to "uphold its unrestricted and unfettered sovereignty and independence."

In a letter of July 21 the Turkish Representative proposed the inclusion on the 20th General Assembly agenda of an item entitled "Question of Cyprus: The Grave Situation Created in Cyprus by the Policies Pursued Against the Turkish Community." The Turkish Representative's explanatory memorandum of September 15 declared that the objective of the Greek Cypriots, aided by the Government of Greece, was "to bring the Turkish community to its knees through military, economic and other conceivable means of pressure and to achieve annexation of the island by Greece" in contravention of the Zurich-London Agreements and the principles of the U.N. Charter. The resulting "explosive situation" called for General Assembly consideration.

On September 22 the General Committee recommended inscription of the two items on the Assembly's agenda and their allocation to the First Committee as a single question. The Assembly referred the item to the First Committee on September 24.

In considering the item from December 11 to 17, the First Committee had before it three draft resolutions:

(1) A Turkish draft called upon all concerned to refrain from any attempt to settle the dispute through pressure and violence; to withdraw military units sent to Cyprus after December 21, 1963; and to seek through negotiation a just, peaceful, and agreed solution which would take fully into account the existence in Cyprus of two distinct national communities and their lawful rights, safeguarding the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, and enabling the two communities to share responsibility on a basis of coadministration and communal autonomy.

(2) A draft resolution sponsored by Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, and Saudi Arabia, and incorporating an Algerian amendment, appealed to all states to refrain from any action directed against the sovereignty, independence, or territorial integrity of Cyprus and from any action

that might exacerbate the situation, and recommended to the Security Council that it continue the U.N. efforts at mediation in conformity with the March 4, 1964, resolution.

(3) A draft resolution cosponsored by 31 states, mainly from Africa, noted the report of the U.N. Mediator of March 26, 1965, and the commitment of the Government of Cyprus—through its “Declaration of Intent and Memorandum”—to recognize certain specific human rights as applicable to all citizens of Cyprus and to insure minority rights. It took cognizance of the fact that the Republic of Cyprus, as an equal member of the United Nations, “should enjoy full sovereignty and complete independence without any foreign intervention or interference,” and called upon all states in conformity with their obligations under the Charter to “respect the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity” of Cyprus and to “refrain from any intervention directed against it.” Finally, it recommended to the Security Council the continuation of the U.N. mediation effort in conformity with the March 4, 1964, resolution.

On December 14 the Turkish Representative informed the Committee that his delegation would not insist upon having the Turkish draft put to a vote. After a lengthy and at times bitter debate, and unavailing efforts to reach agreement on a compromise text, the sponsors of the 31-power draft, by a vote of 45 to 24 (U.S.), with 35 abstentions, obtained priority for their text in the voting.

### U.S. POSITION

In an explanatory statement before the vote on December 16, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yost, summarized the U.S. position:

. . . We have felt that the essential elements in the Cyprus question, in its United Nations context, are the following:

First, basic principles and procedures for settlement were laid down in the Security Council resolution of March 4, 1964, which was accepted by all the parties.

Second, the only viable and peaceful solution must be one agreed upon by all parties.

Third, such an agreed solution must be negotiated among the parties with the help of such United Nations mediation as they will accept.

Fourth, for an agreed solution to be reached, the greatest possible mutual accommodation should be encouraged among the parties, and

Fifth, a solution cannot be imposed from outside by the United Nations or by anyone else.

Therefore, my Government believes that this Assembly should adopt a resolution which does not pass judgment or take sides on the issues in dispute. It believes, rather, that the Assembly should direct its efforts toward encouraging the parties to an agreed settlement as called for by the Security Council resolution. . . .

He went on to state that, because the four-power draft was a "wholly neutral and impartial text designed, without prejudice, to return the issue to the Security Council, where it belongs, and to United Nations mediation," the United States was prepared to vote for it. The 31-power draft, on the other hand, did not "meet the criterion of impartiality and of conformity to the spirit of conciliatory action on this issue already taken by the Security Council." It included language directed to the substance of the dispute and in several respects represented the views of one party known to be unacceptable to the other. For that reason, he said, the United States would be obliged to vote against the 31-power draft.

#### ASSEMBLY ACTION

Following separate votes on most paragraphs, all of which were adopted, the First Committee approved the 31-power draft resolution as a whole on December 16 by a vote of 47 to 6 (U.S.), with 51 abstentions, and Saudi Arabia not participating.

The Representative of Mali then proposed that the Committee not vote on the four-power draft or on the amendments to it submitted by the sponsors of the 31-power draft. This proposal was rejected by a vote of 31 to 43 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions. Following a lengthy, heated, and complicated procedural debate, the Representative of Iraq on December 17 withdrew the four-power draft resolution on the ground that the 31 powers refused to withdraw their amendments, which he said would merely transform the draft into the resolution already adopted.

In plenary session on December 18, the General Assembly adopted the 31-power draft resolution by a vote of 47 to 5, with 54 abstentions. Those voting in favor were: Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Chile, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Haiti, India, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kenya, Lebanon, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Nepal, Nigeria, Panama, Paraguay, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Syria, Tanzania, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, and Zambia. Those voting against were: Albania, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, and the United States. Those abstaining were: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Guatemala, Hungary, Iceland, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Libya, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Philippines, Poland,



Portugal, Romania, Senegal, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and Venezuela.

In explanation of the U.S. vote, Ambassador Yost restated the position given in detail in the First Committee discussions, making clear that the U.S. vote on the resolution was without prejudice to U.S. views on the principles contained in it.

We have feared that the adoption of such a resolution, which *inter alia* omits any reference to treaty obligations, would hinder rather than facilitate the negotiated solution agreed among the parties which must ultimately be found if peace is to be preserved. We trust that we are wrong and that in fact the parties will rapidly and in a spirit of conciliation and with the help of United Nations mediation now that this debate is over, concentrate firmly, sincerely, and with determination on a common search for an agreed peaceful and stable settlement.

### Resignation of U.N. Mediator

On December 22 Galo Plaza resigned as U.N. Mediator on Cyprus. In his letter to the Secretary-General he stated that, while he was encouraged by the extent of U.N. members' support for the mediation effort, he felt bound to take account of the positions of the parties to the dispute. He noted that as recently as December 17, the Turkish Representative had described as irrevocable his government's position that the existing arrangements for mediation were unacceptable. He then concluded that he should submit his resignation in the interests of the continuation of efforts to find a solution to the Cyprus problem.

Accepting the Mediator's resignation with great regret on December 30, the Secretary-General in his letter expressed his deep appreciation for Galo Plaza's work as U.N. Mediator on Cyprus and before that as the Secretary-General's Special Representative there. He said he would spare no effort to bring about a resumption of mediation and hoped the parties directly concerned would display the utmost good will toward that end.

### U.N. Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)

Through the year UNFICYP, established by the Security Council resolution of March 4, 1964, was successful in maintaining relative quiet between the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities. On several occasions quick action by the Force on the ground and the diplomatic efforts of the Force Commander, Gen. Kodendera S. Thimayya, and the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Ambassador Carlos Bernardes, prevented troubled local situations from generating serious breaches of the peace.

The Security Council extended the mandate of the Force for 3 months on March 19, for 6 months on June 15, and for 3 months on December 17, through March 26, 1966.

As of December 1, 1965, the UNFICYP force level stood at 5,766 officers and men, compared with a total of 6,238 at the end of 1964. In the Secretary-General's report of December 10, 1965, on the U.N. Operation in Cyprus, he stated that the Force would be further reduced by 740 in the latter half of January 1966. U.N. members contributing military or police units to UNFICYP were Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

On December 17 the Commander of UNFICYP, General Thimayya of India, died in Cyprus. General Thimayya's organizational and inspirational talents had developed UNFICYP into an outstanding peacekeeping operation.

The situation on the island and UNFICYP's vital contribution to its relative peace are summed up in the following passages from the Secretary-General's report of December 10 to the Security Council:

The Force is needed in Cyprus. It may be no exaggeration to say that it has become almost indispensable for the time being. On the other hand, it would seem clear that it cannot be kept there indefinitely; possibly not even for very much longer. Financial stringencies alone would probably dictate this, although there are other considerations which would make such a prolongation undesirable—one of the latter being that over-reliance on the United Nations to prevent recourse to armed force and even to help maintain the *status quo* could be a factor in reducing the sense of urgency of the contending parties about seeking solutions for the underlying differences that caused the eruption of violence in the first place.

It is very much to the credit of the United Nations that the presence of its Force in Cyprus has brought a large measure of quiet to the Island. There is a striking contrast between conditions there in March 1964 and today. Armed Greek and Turkish Cypriots, civilian and military alike, are no longer shooting at each other across barricaded streets, from sandbag emplacements in gardens, windows and on rooftops; political kidnappings have virtually ended; belligerent searchings and other harassments on the roads have greatly diminished; economic life has been restored in substantial degree; freedom of movement for persons and goods, though slowly, is being regained. External threats have become less frequent. But these are only surface manifestations. All of the causes of the conflict that broke out in December 1963 persist and are little, if at all, diminished—the diametrically opposed aspirations of the leaders of the two communities; the hatreds; the suspicions; the emotions; and the arms. And in some localities, the two communities continue to be as separated physically as they have been from the advent of hostilities. Overt warfare has been halted. But no one doubts that it could readily start up again with minor provocation. In a number of places, military elements of the two sides directly confront each other at dangerously close range. Tension goes up and down with specific events but never fails to mount quickly and menacingly in response to the slightest cause. The recent deplorable events at Famagusta demonstrated tragically how

easily war could return, how inflammable are the relations between the two communities.

It needs to be said of Cyprus, in full frankness, I believe, that it remains still to be demonstrated that there is a genuine will to peace among the leaders of the two communities of sufficient earnestness and intensity to lead them toward those mutual accommodations in viewpoint and position which are essential to pacific settlement. The international community can only help and assist. The key to a settlement, however, lies in the last analysis, with the parties. Unless they are prepared to move towards resolving their basic differences, the prospects of an early solution are dim indeed. . . .

Referring to the Secretary-General's statements, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yost, said in the General Assembly's First Committee on December 13:

. . . the magnificent performance of the Force itself, and the generosity of those governments which have provided the troops and contributed to its maintenance, have not found a sufficient parallel in efforts by the parties to the dispute to reach a peaceful and viable settlement. The world community is entitled to expect that, when a dispute is brought before the United Nations and the United Nations acts to keep that dispute within bounds, the parties involved will feel an obligation promptly to bring the dispute to a close.

### UNFICYP Financing

UNFICYP is unique in U.N. peacekeeping operations in that it is maintained exclusively by voluntary contributions of men and money. The Security Council resolution of March 4, 1964, recommended that all costs of the Force be met by the countries providing the contingents and by the Government of Cyprus, and authorized the Secretary-General also to accept voluntary contributions.

As the year 1965 progressed, it became apparent that there was a widening gap between the monies pledged for the support of UNFICYP and the cost of the operation. The Secretary-General made special reports to the Security Council on the situation and on October 28 and November 2, 1965, he sent appeals to all U.N. members and those nonmembers that had contributed earlier for additional support for UNFICYP. The Secretary-General wrote in his report of December 10 that the failure to obtain sufficient voluntary contributions to finance the Force was a matter of grave concern to him and to the troop-contributing governments.

The U.S. position on the financing problem was set forth by the U.S. Representative in the General Assembly's First Committee on December 13. He said:

If essential funds are not forthcoming, this operation simply cannot continue. If it should be interrupted or reduced to a point at which it is no longer effective, the United Nations would have suffered a major setback. There would be the



gravest risk that the bloody events of late 1963 and early 1964 would be re-enacted, and the United Nations would have failed in a major peacekeeping responsibility. Therefore, to those who have already given to this operation I would join the Secretary-General in asking that they not withhold even greater support at this critical hour. To those countries who have not yet contributed, I particularly appeal for tangible support of the United Nations in its mission of peace and stability. To the parties directly concerned in the Cyprus problem who are the chief beneficiaries of UNFICYP's efforts, I would direct an especially urgent appeal for them to do much more. [See page 346.]

### *Dominican Republic*

Following the military uprising of April 24, 1965, led by supporters of former Dominican President Juan D. Bosch, serious disorders occurred. Rival military factions, pro- and anti-Bosch, began a contest for power in which, on April 25, the government of Donald Reid Cabral, successor to the military junta that overthrew President Bosch in September 1963, fell. Supporters of President Bosch were joined by units of the Dominican army against the air force, navy, and a major portion of the army.

Civil strife increased, with mobs roaming the streets, and on April 26 reports were received that pro-Bosch forces had passed out arms, including machineguns, to thousands of civilians. Because of the resulting peril to residents of Santo Domingo, the U.S. Navy prepared to evacuate any of the 2,500 U.S. nationals there who wished to leave.

By April 28 the security situation had deteriorated to the point that the lives of American and other foreign nationals in the Dominican Republic were in great danger. Dominican military authorities informed the United States that they could no longer protect foreign nationals and that the assistance of U.S. military personnel was needed to that end. President Johnson on April 28 ordered the necessary American troops ashore "in order to give protection to hundreds of Americans who are still in the Dominican Republic." This same assistance, he announced, would be available to the nationals of other countries, "some of whom have already asked for our help." At the same time the President appealed for a cease-fire between contending forces in the Dominican Republic. He also announced that the Council of the Organization of American States (COAS) would be kept fully informed of the situation.

By April 30 some 1,200 additional U.S. Marines were on duty in the vicinity of Santo Domingo. On that day President Johnson expressed concern over the increasing violence and disorder and noted the great danger to the lives of foreign nationals and of thousands of Dominican citizens. He praised the "outstanding effort" of the Papal

Nuncio in the Dominican Republic in achieving a cease-fire agreement on April 30, which agreement, however, was not being fully respected. The President referred to indications that "people trained outside the Dominican Republic are seeking to gain control. Thus the legitimate aspirations of the Dominican people and most of their leaders for progress, democracy, and social justice are threatened and so are the principles of the inter-American system." Urging prompt action by the OAS, the President stated, "The wisdom, the statesmanship, and the ability to act decisively of the OAS are critical to the hopes of peoples in every land of this continent."

### **Organization of American States (OAS) Action**

On April 27, the United States informed the Inter-American Peace Commission, a standing body of the OAS, of events in the Dominican Republic, and on April 28 the Dominican Ambassador informed the OAS of the situation in his country. In response to a U.S. request of April 28, the COAS met on April 29 and, as a first step, called for an immediate cease-fire between the contending parties in the Dominican Republic. It appealed to the Papal Nuncio in Santo Domingo to use his good offices to help effect a cease-fire and a return to peace. On April 29, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, U.S. Representative to the United Nations, informed the Security Council of the actions undertaken by the United States.

In the early hours of April 30, the COAS acted again, urgently calling upon all parties to bring about a cease-fire and appealing to all sides in the dispute "to permit the immediate establishment of an international neutral zone of refuge encompassing the geographic area of the city of Santo Domingo immediately surrounding the embassies of foreign governments, the inviolability of which will be respected by all opposing forces within which nationals of all countries will be given safe haven." It also called for a Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics (MFM).

The 10th MFM convened in Washington on May 1 and established a committee of representatives from Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, and Panama to provide good offices for the establishment of a cease-fire, assist the evacuation of foreign nationals and Dominicans granted political asylum, and investigate all aspects of the situation there. The committee went immediately to the Dominican Republic, joining Dr. José Mora, Secretary General of the OAS, who, at the request of the COAS, was already in Santo Domingo working for a cease-fire, maintaining an OAS presence, and preparing for the arrival of the OAS committee.

On May 1 President Johnson expressed his hope for the success of the OAS mission. "For our part," he said, "the United States is ready to support—with every resource at its command—the inter-American system. We will help carry out the solemn judgments of the assembled American Republics." He announced that, in order effectively to fulfill the OAS request for an international neutral zone, two battalions of the 82d Airborne Division were being made available in the Dominican Republic.

Under the aegis of the OAS, the two major political factions in the Dominican Republic on May 5 signed the "Act of Santo Domingo," in which they ratified the cease-fire agreement of April 30; accepted the international safety zone and agreed to respect it; agreed to respect diplomatic missions and to provide facilities for international agencies carrying out food and medical relief; and declared their acceptance of the full competence of the special committee appointed by the 10th MFM for the purposes of "the faithful observance of what is agreed to in this Agreement."

The MFM on May 6 asked member governments to provide military or police contingents for an Inter-American Force to operate under the authority of the 10th Meeting of Consultation. The resolution establishing the force specified that its sole purpose was to cooperate "in the restoration of normal conditions in the Dominican Republic, in maintaining the security of its inhabitants and the inviolability of human rights, and in the establishment of an atmosphere of peace and conciliation that will permit the functioning of democratic institutions." On May 15 the United States formally made available to the OAS, to become part of the Inter-American Force, its military contingents in the Dominican Republic.

In accordance with article 54 of the U.N. Charter, the OAS throughout kept the Security Council promptly informed of all actions taken to deal with the evolving situation.

### Security Council Consideration

In his letter of April 29, Ambassador Stevenson informed the Security Council that President Johnson had ordered American troops into the Dominican Republic to protect and evacuate American citizens, enclosed the text of the President's statement of April 28, and said that the United States had asked for a meeting of the COAS.

On May 1 the Soviet Union requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider "the armed interference by the United States in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic." The Security Council met on May 3 and invited Cuba, upon its request, to participate without right of vote.



## U.S.S.R. DRAFT RESOLUTION

The Soviet Union, abetted by Cuba, made strenuous and repeated efforts to depict the actions of the United States and the OAS as violations of the U.N. Charter, international law, and the Charter of the OAS. In his initial speech on May 3, the Soviet Representative, Ambassador Nikolai Fedorenko, labeled the U.S. action in the Dominican Republic as "an act of direct aggression against the people of that small country, a flagrant armed interference in its domestic affairs and a further attempt to maintain in power a reactionary anti-peoples dictatorship which suits the convenience of a foreign Power, namely the United States of America." He described the action in the Dominican Republic as another in a long series of unlawful U.S. interventions, including the Congo, Cuba, Panama, and South Viet-Nam. With respect to the U.N. Charter, the Soviet Representative charged that the United States had violated article 2(4), which proscribes the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state; article 2(7), which prohibits the United Nations from interfering in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state; and article 53, which, *inter alia*, requires the Security Council's authorization for any enforcement action undertaken by a regional organization. He asserted further that the United States had violated its commitments under article 17 of the OAS Charter, which says that a state's territory is inviolable and may not be the object of military occupation. Finally, the Soviet Representative tabled a resolution which sought to condemn the U.S. action and called upon the United States to withdraw its troops immediately.

## U.S. POSITION

In a series of statements beginning on May 3, Ambassador Stevenson explained U.S. actions in the Dominican Republic. He described U.S. policy toward the Dominican Republic over the past several years and noted U.S. support of efforts by the Dominican people to establish a representative democracy and build a stable and free society capable of economic, social, and political development. With the outbreak of revolt on April 24, the U.S. Representative said, chaos and anarchy rapidly spread. He described in detail the efforts of Communist agents, attracted by disorder and incipient anarchy, to seize control of the revolution and of the armed bands in the streets. The basic nature and overriding purpose of U.S. action was an "... emergency action taken to protect lives and to give the inter-American system a chance to deal with a situation within its competence."

Further, he pointed out, emergency medical and food shipments were also distributed to all persons in need without regard to political affiliation. The U.S. Representative described in detail the prompt and effective action taken by the OAS, citing its resolutions calling for a cease-fire, the work of the OAS Secretary General, the signing of the Act of Santo Domingo, the dispatch of a five-member peace committee, and the establishment of the Inter-American Force. (The OAS later changed the name to the Inter-American Peace Force (IAPF).)

The U.S. and OAS effort was fully in accord with the principles of the OAS and U.N. Charters. The OAS Charter did not preclude action to rescue foreigners whose lives were endangered, nor did it require the withdrawal of troops when it became clear that a sister republic was in danger of being deprived of its basic rights as a member of the OAS.

The U.S. Representative then vigorously denied that the United States had violated the U.N. Charter. The United States had no designs on the territorial integrity and political independence of the Dominican Republic and therefore had not violated article 2 (4); article 2 (7) was not in point, as it applied only to action by the United Nations. Rather, the action taken by the United States and the OAS was entirely proper under the Charter, which in article 33 calls for the settlement of disputes, *inter alia*, through regional organizations, and in chapter VIII encourages regional organizations to deal with regional problems. In view of the effective OAS action, and taking into account the precedents concerning regional organizations' responsibilities established by the Security Council as well as the clear intent of the Charter, he urged that the Council "keep the question of the Dominican Republic under review until the Organization of American States completes its work and the people of the Dominican Republic have been able to exercise their own political choice."

#### URUGUAYAN DRAFT RESOLUTION

The early stages of the Security Council's debate centered on whether it should act and, if so, what type of action it should take. The Soviet Union urged Council action and pressed its draft resolution of May 3. The Uruguayan Representative said he had no doubt that the Security Council was competent to deal with the Dominican question. He felt the OAS had not demonstrated that it was ready "to shoulder completely effectively the responsibilities which were entrusted to it." He suggested that the Security Council might consider requesting a cessation of all unilateral action, contributing to a cease-fire and a restoration of orderly conditions, and

supporting the work of the OAS in all the legitimate measures it might decide to take.

On May 11 the Uruguayan Representative tabled a resolution which referred to articles 24, 34, and 35 and chapter VIII of the U.N. Charter; reaffirmed the right of the Dominican people freely to exercise, without coercion of any kind, their right to self-determination; urgently appealed to the contending parties to cease hostilities and settle their differences; asked the Secretary-General to follow the situation closely and to keep the Security Council informed; and asked the OAS to keep the Security Council informed of its actions and to cooperate with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the resolution.

The U.S. Representative suggested that the Uruguayan draft might hamper, rather than promote, a solution in the Dominican Republic by interposing the Security Council at a time when the regional organization appeared to be dealing with the situation effectively. He emphasized that the OAS had acted promptly, effectively, vigorously, and in a manner consistent with the Charter, and that failure on the part of the Security Council to act, given the situation then prevailing in the Dominican Republic, was not an abandonment of its responsibilities. The resolution was not put to the vote at this time.

At various times during the Security Council's consideration of the Dominican issue, the Bolivian Representative expressed support for OAS action and continuation of its work.

#### SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION

Upon a renewed outbreak of fighting in Santo Domingo, the Security Council on May 14 resumed consideration of a course of action. The President of the Council, Ambassador Radhakrishna Ramani of Malaysia, read a communication from Dr. Jottin Cury of the Constitutionalist (pro-Bosch) faction in the Dominican Republic claiming that U.S. troops on May 13 had moved outside the security zone and that aircraft had attacked the Santo Domingo radio station. Dr. Cury asserted that the OAS was incapable of resolving the situation and asked for action by the United Nations.

Intensive consultations were conducted by Security Council members, resulting in agreement on the text of a resolution which the Jordanian Representative introduced. It called for a strict cease-fire, invited the Secretary-General to send a representative to the Dominican Republic for the purpose of reporting to the Security Council, and called upon all concerned in the Dominican Republic to cooperate with the Secretary-General's representative. The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Following the resolution's adoption, the U.S. Representative cor-



rected the account of the events of May 13 given in Dr. Cury's communication and acknowledged the difficulty of maintaining a cease-fire in the Dominican Republic. He urged the Council to co-operate with the OAS in assuring that peace be restored and that the Dominican people have an opportunity to choose their own future. Alluding to statements by some Council members, he submitted that "the time has come to stop the effort here to discredit the Organization of American States—a recognized arm of the United Nations—and to seek instead to build it up to show our faith in regional arrangements and to help it reach a fair and practical result."

The Secretary-General on the afternoon of May 14 informed the Security Council that, in accordance with the Council's resolution, he was immediately sending to the Dominican Republic an advance party led by his Military Adviser, Maj. Gen. Indarjit Rikhye. The Secretary-General subsequently named Dr. José Antonio Mayobre, Secretary General of the Economic Commission for Latin America, as his representative in the Dominican Republic. On May 19 the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that Dr. Mayobre had arrived in Santo Domingo and had discussed the situation with the principals of the various Dominican political factions and with OAS and U.S. officials. Dr. Mayobre reported that serious fighting was going on in the capital, with numerous casualties, and he felt that the forces of the Government of National Reconstruction (GNR) (anti-Bosch political faction) would continue to press their attack against the Constitutionalist group. Although it had not been possible to obtain agreement to a cease-fire, the GNR would be willing to suspend hostilities temporarily on May 19 to facilitate the work of the Red Cross in searching for the dead and wounded. In light of the grave situation, the Secretary-General said, he had asked the United States to use its good offices to urge the opposing forces to heed the Security Council's call for a strict cease-fire.

On May 19 the U.S. Representative stated that the United States had scrupulously avoided giving assistance to either Dominican faction and had prevented the forces of both from using the zone of safety established by the IAPF. The United States was operating solely within the framework of OAS resolutions. After again reviewing the history and purpose of U.S. involvement in the Dominican Republic, he stated that U.S. forces would be withdrawn when the IAPF command determined that they were not needed.

During the course of the debate on May 19, the French Representative suggested that an urgent appeal go out from the President of the Security Council, as the unanimous wish of the Council, that a truce as called for by the International Red Cross be instituted without delay for the purpose of evacuating and administering to the dead

and wounded. With the assent of all members of the Council, the President asked the Secretary-General to convey the necessary instructions to his representative.

### Further Security Council Action

With the continuation of serious fighting in Santo Domingo, the Security Council considered what additional measures it should take. A number of Council members, including Jordan, the Ivory Coast, and France, strongly felt that further action was necessary. In addition, the Constitutionalist group sent frequent telegrams to the Council requesting Security Council action.

The U.S. Representative cautioned the Council to consider carefully both the current situation and the relations between the United Nations and the OAS. He noted signs that the "relationship between two harmonious parts of the system of international institutions" was in danger. After recapitulating the political, military, and humanitarian efforts of the OAS, including the creation of a unified international force, he expressed the hope that all those factors would be given careful consideration by the Council.

### U.S. DRAFT RESOLUTION

On May 21, following the announcement that a 24-hour truce had been concluded, the United States tabled a draft resolution which would reiterate the Council's appeal for adherence to the cease-fire and urge the OAS to intensify its efforts to establish the basis for the functioning of democratic institutions in the Dominican Republic. Referring to an OAS resolution of May 20 which asked the Secretary-General of the OAS to coordinate his efforts with the U.N. Secretary-General's representative, Ambassador Stevenson pointed out that the U.S. draft would provide complementary instructions for Dr. Mayobre.

On May 21 the Soviet Representative pressed for a vote on his draft of May 4. Each paragraph of that draft resolution was voted separately and all were rejected. The vote on the first operative paragraph (condemning U.S. action) was 1 to 6 (U.S.), with 4 (France, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Malaysia) abstentions; the vote on the second operative paragraph (demanding immediate U.S. withdrawal from the Dominican Republic) was 2 (Jordan, U.S.S.R.) to 6 (U.S.), with 3 (France, Ivory Coast, Malaysia) abstentions.

After the vote the Netherlands Representative suggested that a concerted effort be made to agree on a resolution that would contain those elements that all members of the Council could accept. On May 22 a vote was taken on the Uruguayan draft which had been somewhat modified on May 21 to take into account events since its

original submission. It failed of adoption by a vote of 5 to 1 (U.S.S.R.), with 5 (Bolivia, China, Netherlands, U.K., U.S.) abstentions.

#### U.K. AND FRENCH DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

The U.K. Representative then tabled a resolution which noted the suspension of hostilities in the Dominican Republic on May 21, welcomed the decisions of the OAS, called for a continued and complete cessation of hostilities, and asked all concerned to intensify efforts to achieve this goal. The Representative of France proposed an alternate draft from which mention of the OAS role was deleted and in which the Security Council would express its concern over the situation in the Dominican Republic, recall its resolution of May 14, and ask that the truce be transformed into an immediate cease-fire. The U.K. Representative agreed to allow the French draft to take precedence in the voting.

The U.S. Representative noted that the urgency of a resolution had diminished with the continuation of the truce in Santo Domingo. He affirmed U.S. support for the U.K. draft because it contained a reference to the activity of the OAS, which was the minimum necessary to reciprocate the expressed desire of the OAS to work in cooperation with the Security Council. For this reason, the United States would have preferred the U.K. draft to retain its voting priority. Emphasizing that the OAS had acted in harmony with the U.N. Charter, the U.S. Representative acknowledged that the Security Council was competent to deal with any situation which might threaten international peace and security. "But," he said, "the Security Council should not seek to duplicate or interfere with actions through regional arrangements so long as those actions remain effective and are consistent with our Charter." Since the French draft resolution did not encourage regional activity as enjoined by article 52 (3) of the Charter, the United States could not vote in favor of it. However, because it did not impede the work of the OAS and because of the desirability of extending the truce, the United States would not prevent its adoption and would instead abstain. The French draft resolution was adopted on May 22 by a vote of 10 to 0, with 1 (U.S.) abstention.

On May 24, the U.S. Representative withdrew the U.S. draft resolution, explaining that succeeding events—an OAS resolution asking the Secretary General of the OAS to negotiate a cease-fire and calling upon the parties to transform the truce into a permanent cease-fire and the Security Council resolution of May 22—made the draft no longer timely or pertinent.



### Charter Issues

On June 3 the Soviet Representative began a debate on a number of Charter questions which, he claimed, were raised as a consequence of U.S. and OAS actions. The Soviet Representative read a statement issued by his government which charged that the creation of the IAPF by the OAS violated article 2 (4) of the Charter because it was an improper use of force; article 39, because only the Security Council may determine the existence of a threat to the peace; and article 53, because it was enforcement action undertaken without authorization of the Security Council. He invited the other members of the Council to express their views on the questions posed by the Soviet statement.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles Yost, rebutted the Soviet assertions that the OAS had acted in violation of article 53. He pointed out that the voluntary establishment and functioning of the IAPF was for the purpose of restoring normal conditions in the Dominican Republic, and that force was not being employed to gain concessions from a Dominican Government or to require a Dominican Government to follow or abstain from any particular course of action. The OAS action should be considered as coming within the ambit of articles 52 and 54 of the Charter, which reserve the right of regional organizations to deal with matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, urge U.N. members to make use of regional arrangements, provide for encouragement by the Security Council of the pacific settlement of local disputes through regional arrangements, and ask regional organizations to keep the Security Council informed of activities undertaken to maintain international peace and security.

The same day, the President of the Council circulated a letter which 13 Latin American states (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, and Peru) had written on May 25 to the President of the Security Council, expressing the view that the OAS should continue to exercise the responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security in the hemisphere which is conferred on it by the Charter of the OAS and recognized by that of the United Nations. In accordance with article 52(3) of the U.N. Charter, the letter stated, every effort should be made to encourage action by regional agencies for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Further, OAS action would not preclude coordination of U.N. and OAS action for the maintenance of peace.

The Jordanian, French, and Uruguayan Representatives agreed in substance with the Soviet position that both the U.S. and OAS actions

had violated the U.N. Charter and might be tantamount to unauthorized enforcement action.

The Malaysian Representative delivered a detailed legal analysis of the constitutional issues raised by the Soviet Union. After analyzing the historical antecedents of chapter VIII, he concluded that it was the intent of the Charter's draftsmen to mesh the OAS into the mechanism of peacekeeping, at the same time clearly subordinating the OAS in the region of enforcement action, which involved the use of military power, to the superior authority of the Security Council. The use of force by a regional organization, he explained, was justified only as an act of self-defense under article 51 or as authorized by the Security Council under article 53. The basic question in the Dominican case was whether the OAS had undertaken enforcement action. Enforcement action, he stated, connotes the enforcement of a decision against a state. He observed, however, that the OAS had not moved into the Dominican Republic to support a claim against that state; to the contrary, the OAS undertook a conciliatory function, as set forth in its resolutions, which the Security Council, under article 52, was bound to encourage. Accordingly, he concluded, the OAS, not being involved in enforcement action, could not have violated article 53 of the U.N. Charter.

### Scope of the U.N. Mandate

In a series of telegrams in late May and early June, the Constitutionalist group charged that human rights were being violated in the Dominican Republic and requested that representatives of the U.N. Human Rights Commission be dispatched to investigate. Over the next few days, reports of atrocities and of sporadic, but violent, breaches of the cease-fire were received. In the Council on June 3 the U.S. Representative noted that both Dominican factions had requested the OAS to send representatives of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights there, that the OAS had complied, and that this Commission had established a continuing presence to receive and investigate complaints. He also informed the Council that a three-man *ad hoc* Committee established by the OAS on June 2 to work for a peaceful solution to the Dominican problem and provide directives for the IAPF would arrive in Santo Domingo on June 3.

The Jordanian Representative expressed the view that the mandate given the Secretary-General by the two Security Council resolutions included supervising the implementation of the cease-fire and investigating complaints and violence related to it. He therefore considered that continued outbreaks of violence and reports that

human rights had been violated required the Secretary-General to enlarge his staff in the Dominican Republic to permit the investigation of such complaints.

Commenting on the question of expanding the role of the United Nations, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Stevenson, stressed again that the U.N. mission in the Dominican Republic should be recognized as complementary to that of the OAS and not competitive with it. He rejected any enlargement of the U.N. mandate or staff in the Dominican Republic as unwise and duplicative of the work of the OAS.

In response to an inquiry of the French Representative concerning the scope of the Secretary-General's mandate and the adequacy of his staff in Santo Domingo, the Secretary-General on June 11 stated that his present mandate involved observation and reporting, not the investigation of complaints or the verification of information concerning them other than incidents of overt firing. His representative's staff level was under constant review, the Secretary-General assured the Council, and the necessary assistance would be provided to him.

Further debate on the U.N. role in the Dominican Republic was stimulated by a particularly serious violation of the cease-fire on June 15. Forces of the Constitutionalist group attacked elements of the IAPF, which, after continuous harassment and provocation, used force to restore and maintain the cease-fire. To prevent renewed fighting, the IAPF expanded the security zone to include a small portion of the Constitutionalist sector and decided to maintain control over that portion of the zone pending satisfactory assurances from the Constitutionalist group that the cease-fire violations would not recur.

On June 16 the Soviet Union proposed that the Security Council constitute itself a visiting mission and meet in Santo Domingo, under article 28(3) of the Charter, so that its members could have an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the situation. No action was taken on the proposal.

There was extensive debate on whether the cease-fire called for by the Security Council applied to the IAPF. The Representatives of Jordan, France, Uruguay, and the Soviet Union argued that it did apply, that consequently the IAPF extension of its area of control was a violation of the cease-fire, and that the IAPF's forces should withdraw. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yost, insisted that the cease-fire restrictions did not apply to international peace-keeping forces, and pointed out that the IAPF was not one of the contending parties, but was lawfully in the Dominican Republic to keep the peace. It never initiated fire but, as in the case of U.N. peacekeeping forces, it was authorized to return fire when attacked.



### Summation of Council Views

The Security Council held several additional meetings on the Dominican Republic beginning July 20. It adjourned on July 26, after agreeing on a summation of the opinions of the Council's members which, *inter alia*, noted reports of cease-fire violations and violations of human rights; observed that Council members had condemned the violations of human rights; expressed the desire that such violations should cease; and indicated the need for strict observance of the cease-fire. The U.S. Representative accepted the statement as representing the primary concerns expressed by members of the Council. At the same time, he said, he considered it pertinent and important to note that the OAS had continued to deal energetically and successfully with the problems with which the Council was concerned.

The Security Council held no further meetings on the Dominican Republic in 1965. The OAS, acting under article 54 of the U.N. Charter, continued to keep the Security Council fully informed of the activities in the Dominican Republic of its *ad hoc* Committee, the IAPF, and the Inter-American Human Rights Commission. The Council was notified of the formulation by the *ad hoc* Committee of an "Act of Dominican Reconciliation" and an "Institutional Act," the agreement to these documents on August 31 by the two major political factions in the Dominican Republic, and the formation of a Provisional Government under President Hector Garcia-Godoy. The Secretary-General also periodically transmitted to the Council reports from his representative in the Dominican Republic.

### India-Pakistan Question

Relations between India and Pakistan continued on a downward trend through most of 1965. Already strained in 1964 as a result of continued disagreement over Kashmir, they bore additional severe tests early in 1965 as armed clashes occurred in the Rann of Kutch, beginning in February and extending sporadically to June 30, when a cease-fire agreement was concluded. This conflict was not formally considered by the Security Council. The Security Council was called into session, however, after the outbreak of open hostilities over Kashmir in August.

### Disturbances Along the Cease-Fire Line (CFL)

Violations by both sides of the cease-fire agreements in Kashmir had been increasing since early in the year. Secretary-General U Thant reported to the Security Council on September 3 that since August 5 the tempo of violations had increased and consisted of "a

large number of violations of the CFL by crossings of the Line, by firing across it with artillery pieces, and by the occupation of positions on the wrong side of the Line." He referred to the report of Gen. Robert H. Nimmo, Commander of the U.N. Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), that "the series of violations that began on 5 August were to a considerable extent in subsequent days in the form of armed men, generally not in uniform, crossing the CFL from the Pakistan side for the purpose of armed action on the Indian side." This, said the Secretary-General, was the Commander's conclusion based on the investigations of the U.N. Observers, in view of the extent and character of the raiding activities, even though in most cases the identity of the raiders and their actual crossing of the cease-fire line could not be verified by direct observation or evidence.

The Secretary-General outlined the appeals he had made to both India and Pakistan for restraint and a reduction of tension, and reported that he had called General Nimmo to New York for further consultations.

On September 1, in identical messages to the leaders of India and Pakistan, the Secretary-General expressed his deep concern over the deterioration of the cease-fire and requested both countries to respect the cease-fire agreement, withdraw their respective armed personnel from the other party's side of the Line, and arrange a peaceful solution of the Kashmir problem.

### First Security Council Resolution

On September 4, the Security Council convened at the request of the Council's President for the month of September, U.S. Representative, Ambassador Arthur Goldberg.

The President explained that since the Secretary-General's appeal of September 1 the Council had conducted virtually continuous informal consultations on how the United Nations and the Security Council could best exercise their responsibility to help maintain peace in Kashmir. Under Rule I of the Security Council's Rules of Procedure, the President noted, he was authorized to call a meeting of the Council without a specific request from a member state or the Secretary-General. The Council then invited representatives of India and Pakistan to participate in the proceedings without the right to vote.

The Indian Representative, Ambassador Parthasarathi, opened the debate. He noted that the India-Pakistan question had remained on the agenda of the Security Council since 1948 with no satisfactory solution, because the Council refused "to face the simple fact of aggression by Pakistan." He charged Pakistan with violations of

the cease-fire line and the cease-fire agreement in Kashmir, and reviewed a number of official Pakistani statements to support his point. On the other hand, he said, the Indian Government had cooperated with UNMOGIP and last year had proposed bilateral talks which had been called off by Pakistan at the last moment. The infiltration by Pakistani troops in civilian disguise, and their acts of terror and sabotage, forced Indian Army units to cross the cease-fire line and occupy strategic points as defensive measures, in order to seal off escape routes and prevent crossings by additional infiltrators. He claimed that on September 1 Pakistan had attacked across the cease-fire line and the international boundary with regular troops in brigade strength, supported by tanks and artillery. Pakistani actions, he said, were designed to create the impression that the people of Kashmir were in revolt against India. However, the so-called infiltrators received no support from the local population.

The Pakistani Representative, Ambassador Syed Amjad Ali, denied the Indian allegations and reserved his right to speak more extensively upon the receipt of instructions from his government.

On behalf of the six nonpermanent members of the Council (Bolivia, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Malaysia, the Netherlands, Uruguay), the Malaysian Representative introduced a draft resolution expressing concern at the deteriorating situation along the cease-fire line; calling on the two governments to take all steps for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of all armed personnel to their own side of the cease-fire line; calling on both governments to cooperate fully with UNMOGIP; and requesting the Secretary-General to report to the Council within 3 days regarding the implementation of the resolution.

The Soviet Representative said that his government could not remain indifferent to the suffering of the people of Kashmir and the exacerbation of relations between India and Pakistan. He hoped that India and Pakistan would themselves "find a way to bring about the immediate cessation of the bloodshed in Kashmir and to liquidate this conflict," in order to avoid aggravation of tensions in Asia.

The U.S. Representative noted that the United States had developed close relations with the governments and peoples of both India and Pakistan—ties which it hoped would continue. The immediate task was to find a solution to the conflict. He requested the full cooperation of both parties in heeding the appeals of the Secretary-General and the efforts of the U.N. Observers. He affirmed that the United States fully endorsed these appeals and the draft resolution before the Council, and hoped the Council would place its authority behind these measures.

The Indian Representative, however, complained that the resolution did not condemn Pakistan as an aggressor. He said his govern-



ment must have acceptable guarantees from Pakistan that infiltrators and armed forces would be withdrawn, and that there would be no recurrence of the situation.

The Pakistani Representative, on the other hand, said it was regrettable the draft resolution did not refer to the basis of the cease-fire established in Kashmir in 1949 which in turn was the basis of the program for demilitarization and a plebiscite. He wondered whether any appeal from the Security Council for the restoration of peace could be taken seriously without evidence of the Council's intentions to engage in serious efforts toward a settlement of the Kashmir dispute itself.

The Council adopted the six-power draft resolution unanimously that same day and agreed to meet again in 4 days unless circumstances required an earlier meeting.

### Secretary-General's Report of September 6

On September 6 the Secretary-General informed the Council that no official response to the Council's September 4 call for a cease-fire had been received from either government. He reported the information from the U.N. Observers that fighting continued on both sides of the cease-fire line and in fact was broadening and intensifying.

### Second Security Council Resolution

Prompted by news that warfare had erupted with an Indian attack across the international boundary into Pakistan, the Security Council convened on September 6 to consider the situation described by the Secretary-General. The Pakistani Representative opened the session with a lengthy exposition of Pakistan's policy and views of the situation. He charged India with the "invasion" of Pakistan. He also charged that India's annexation of Kashmir "is against the wishes of its people and in utter contempt of the solemn international agreement . . . that the accession of the State to India or to Pakistan shall be determined by a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the direction and control of the United Nations." He said that Pakistan would exercise its right of self-defense under article 51 of the U.N. Charter until the Security Council had taken effective measures to restore international peace and security by vacating India's aggression against Pakistan and Kashmir.

Following an Indian rejoinder, the Malaysian Representative introduced a draft resolution again jointly sponsored by the six non-permanent members of the Council. This second resolution noted the reports of the Secretary-General and expressed concern at the

extension of the fighting; called upon the parties to cease hostilities and promptly withdraw all armed personnel to positions held by them before August 5, 1965; and requested the Secretary-General to exert every possible effort to give effect to the Council's resolutions and to strengthen the UNMOGIP. The Secretary-General was also requested to keep the Council informed on the implementation of the resolutions and on the situation in the area.

This resolution was also adopted unanimously by the Security Council.

The Secretary-General then announced that he would go to the area to consult personally with the leaders of the two countries.

The U.S. Representative, as President of the Council, expressed appreciation to the six nonpermanent representatives for their leadership in drafting the joint resolution adopted by the Council, urged India and Pakistan to comply with the resolution without hesitation "before the point of no return has been reached," and welcomed the Secretary-General's efforts to point the way toward the establishment of an enduring peace. The Council adjourned, agreeing to keep the matter under continuous review and to reconvene whenever necessary.

#### Secretary-General's Visit to the Subcontinent

The Secretary-General left New York on September 7. He visited with President Ayub and other Pakistani officials in Rawalpindi on September 9 and 10. Arriving in New Delhi on September 12, he spent 2 days in consultations with Prime Minister Shastri and other Indian leaders. In identical messages to both governments following these meetings, the Secretary-General urged them to accept an unconditional cessation of hostilities in the entire area of the conflict, to take effect at 6:30 p.m. (New Delhi time) on September 14, 1965. He added that as soon as this request had been acted upon the Security Council would furnish the necessary assistance to insure the supervision of the cease-fire and the withdrawal of all armed personnel. He concluded: "I am sure also that the Council will wish to explore, as a matter of urgency, methods for achieving enduring peace between India and Pakistan."

President Ayub replied on September 13 that "The responsibility of unleashing the present war lies squarely on India," and expressed astonishment that the Security Council resolution of September 6 "completely ignores this basic fact." He affirmed that Pakistan was not against a cease-fire as such, but believed it should provide for the final settlement of the Kashmir dispute which was the basic cause of the India-Pakistan conflict. He suggested that the cease-fire must be accompanied by action to resolve the real cause of the conflict: (1) complete withdrawal of both Indian and Pakistani forces from

Kashmir; (2) the introduction of a U.N.-sponsored Afro-Asian force to maintain order in the state; and (3) the holding of a plebiscite within 3 months.

Prime Minister Shastri replied on September 14 that India would be agreeable to an immediate cease-fire effective from 6:30 a.m., New Delhi time, on September 16, 1965, provided that Pakistan also agreed.

In reply to the two leaders on September 14, the Secretary-General noted that "both Governments have added to their replies to my request for an unconditional cease-fire conditions and qualifications upon which I have no right under the Security Council resolutions to give firm undertakings." Pending the Council's consideration of these conditions, he again requested the two leaders to order a cessation of hostilities and set the effective time of this cease-fire at 6:30 a.m., New Delhi time, on September 16.

On September 15, Prime Minister Shastri again informed the Secretary-General of his willingness to order a simple cease-fire and cessation of hostilities, provided the Secretary-General could confirm that the Government of Pakistan had agreed to do so as well.

Before leaving New Delhi the Secretary-General, on September 15, for the third time sent messages to the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India, again appealing for an immediate cease-fire and proposing that a meeting of the two heads of government take place, with or without the presence of the Secretary-General.

President Ayub's reply to the Secretary-General's communications of both September 14 and 15 was received in New York on September 16. This reply again noted that a cease-fire could be meaningful only if it were followed by such steps as would lead to a final settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

### Secretary-General's Reports of September 16

In a report to the Security Council on September 16, the Secretary-General recommended that the Council order the two governments concerned to desist from further hostile military action pursuant to article 40 of the U.N. Charter. He also suggested that the Council consider what assistance it could provide to insure the observance of the cease-fire and withdrawal of armed personnel, and said that the Council could request the two heads of government to meet together at the earliest possible time. Finally, the Secretary-General assured the Council of his availability and desire to be of assistance in any way that the Council and the two governments wished.

The Secretary-General also noted that he had made provisional arrangements to increase the number of military observers should



developments make such an increase necessary, and he was seeking extra transport and communications for UNMOGIP.

In a separate report to the Council on the military situation in Kashmir, the Secretary-General stated that the cease-fire line in Kashmir "has been violated at a number of points from both sides and fighting has now extended to the border of India and West Pakistan, amounting to a state of war between the two countries." He said that a sizable number of infiltrators continued to operate on the Indian side of the cease-fire line. In both countries, he noted, there was an ever-present danger of communal violence as a repercussion of the fighting. He also stated that both sides had made extensive use of their air forces in support of ground forces and on targets such as military installations and airfields behind the lines.

### Third Security Council Resolution

The Council met on September 17 and 18 to consider the Secretary-General's report on his trip to the subcontinent.

In the course of these discussions the U.S. Representative emphasized that the United States had suspended shipments of military equipment to both countries to support the Security Council's resolutions and to help bring about an end to the conflict. He praised the efforts of the Secretary-General to achieve an honorable settlement and said that the Council must urgently pursue its efforts to secure an immediate and effective cease-fire between India and Pakistan. He referred to an ultimatum delivered on September 17 to the Indian Government by Communist China and observed that by this action Peiping was pursuing a course clearly designed to aggravate an already grave situation. He said that the United States full support for the resolutions of September 4 and 6 "is but a continuation of our consistent attitude on the India-Pakistan question, which has always been to support a peaceful solution of all aspects of the differences between them."

The Soviet Representative reiterated Soviet support for the Council's resolutions. He said that the armed conflict between India and Pakistan was aggravating an already tense situation in Southeast Asia and was not in the interest of the peoples of India and Pakistan. "The continuation of this conflict," he added, "stands to be in the interest only of those forces which continue this criminal policy of division of peoples for attaining imperialist and expansionist purposes to achieve this end." He concluded that in the circumstances "attention must be concentrated upon the need to implement the resolutions of the Security Council."

After a weekend of informal consultations among members, the

Security Council reconvened shortly after midnight on September 20. The Netherlands Representative introduced a draft resolution under which the Council would "demand" an immediate cease-fire to take effect by 3 a.m. (New York time) on September 22 and subsequent withdrawal to pre-August 5 positions. Once the cease-fire and withdrawal had taken place, the Council would decide "what further steps it could take to assist in the settlement of the underlying problem between India and Pakistan." The resolution also requested the Secretary-General to provide any necessary assistance to insure supervision of the cease-fire and withdrawal and to exert every effort to give effect to the present resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted 10 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 (Jordan) abstention.

### **Parties Agree to Cease-Fire**

The Secretary-General informed the Council on September 21 that India had expressed its willingness to accept a simple cease-fire and cessation of hostilities on being informed of Pakistan's agreement to do likewise. No word had yet been received from Pakistan but he expected the Pakistani Foreign Minister would deliver a reply upon his arrival in New York later that day.

Following extensive consultations among members of the Council and representatives of India and Pakistan, the Council convened at 2:35 a.m. on September 22.

The Pakistani Representative, Foreign Minister Bhutto, began the meeting with a restatement of his government's policy toward India and the present conflict. Just at 3 a.m., the deadline established by the Council's resolution of September 20, he read a message from President Ayub that "Pakistan considers the Security Council resolution of September 20 as unsatisfactory. However, in the interests of international peace and in order to enable the Security Council to evolve a self-executing procedure which will lead to an honorable settlement of the root cause of the present conflict . . . [the Pakistan armed forces] will stop fighting as from 1205 hours [3:05 a.m. EDT] West Pakistan time today."

The U.S. Representative, speaking as President of the Council, expressed the appreciation of the Council to the heads of state of India and Pakistan who, in compliance with the Council's resolutions, had ordered a cease-fire. Although the end of bloodshed on the subcontinent was highly important, he said, there remained other steps that must be taken to bring about conditions of permanent peace and the settlement of the underlying political problems existing between the two countries.

The Indian Representative reaffirmed his government's acceptance of the cease-fire, but added that his government would have to have reasonable notice of Pakistan's agreement so that orders could be communicated to the appropriate military commanders. He requested that the Council set a new time for the cease-fire to take effect. After consulting with other members, the President announced the Council's decision to call upon the governments to implement their adherence to the cease-fire "as rapidly as possible and in any case not later than 6 p.m. EDT on September 22."

### Establishment of UNIPOM

The Secretary-General officially reported the Council's decisions to the two governments on September 22.

On September 23 he told the Security Council that he had decided to establish the United Nations India-Pakistan Observer Mission (UNIPOM) as an organization separate from UNMOGIP to observe the cease-fire and withdrawal along the international boundary between India and West Pakistan. A number of governments, he said, had indicated their willingness to assign military officers to serve with UNIPOM and other governments had agreed to provide additional military observers to strengthen UNMOGIP, which continued in its function of monitoring the cease-fire line in Kashmir. On September 24 the Secretary-General announced the appointment of Maj. Gen. Bruce F. MacDonald of Canada as Chief Officer of UNIPOM.

### Fourth Security Council Resolution

The Secretary-General reported on September 26 that fighting continued in certain sectors, and that efforts of the U.N. Observers to arrange local agreements for the cessation of hostilities were not uniformly successful.

The Council convened again on September 27. The U.S. Representative, acting as President, circulated a draft resolution which noted the reports of the Secretary-General on continued fighting and reaffirmed the three previous Council resolutions. The draft resolution demanded that the parties urgently honor their commitments to observe the cease-fire and to withdraw all armed personnel. The resolution was adopted unanimously.

On October 1 the Secretary-General issued the sixth in a series of reports in accordance with the Council's requests in its resolutions of September 6 and 20. He noted that, as of September 30, a total of 90 observers had been provided for UNIPOM while 59 additional observers had reported for duty with UNMOGIP, raising the UNMOGIP forces to over 100. He indicated that no further person-



nel would be recruited for the time being for either group. He announced that additional aircraft with flight crews and maintenance personnel were being provided by the Government of Canada.

Throughout October numerous complaints of violations of the cease-fire were received from both India and Pakistan. These were immediately investigated by the U.N. Observers and the complaints and results of U.N. investigations presented in a series of reports by the Secretary-General to the Security Council. In addition, the Secretary-General kept the Security Council fully informed of the steps he had taken to organize and administer the operations of the U.N. Observers as well as to furnish the Security Council with detailed cost estimates for all aspects of the operations of UNMOGIP and UNIPOM.

### Renewed Security Council Consideration

The Security Council convened again on October 25 at the request of the Representative of Pakistan, who wished to inform the Council of the alleged deterioration in the situation with respect to the cease-fire and withdrawal of troops.

At this meeting the Soviet Representative recalled that the Soviet Union had supported the resolutions adopted by the Security Council on this question. However, he questioned the appropriateness of the action undertaken by the Secretary-General in recruiting U.N. Observers and financing the observers' operations on the subcontinent. He claimed that the Secretary-General's actions departed from the provisions of the U.N. Charter, in that he had taken measures that only the Security Council was competent to take. He suggested that the Security Council set a definite time limit of 3 months for the presence of U.N. Observers in India and Pakistan, i.e. the UNIPOM group.

The U.S. Representative maintained that the Secretary-General was justified in the actions he had taken by the provisions of the Council's resolutions on September 6 and 20. He commented that the Secretary-General had kept the Security Council fully informed of all measures. The U.S. Representative noted: "There would have been time at any point during these proceedings to raise the question of whether the Secretary-General was proceeding improperly and that was not done. That was not done although the facts were known and were laid before us." The U.S. Representative commended the Secretary-General for the measures he had adopted to carry out the resolutions of the Security Council. His prompt actions "... had much to do with the fact that the situation is not worse."

The U.K. Representative agreed that the Secretary-General had acted within the mandate given him in the Council's resolutions and

said that "what he had done . . . has been a proper exercise of his responsibility."

The French Representative, however, said that it was for the Security Council to decide upon the organization and characteristics of any mission that it created. The Council should also be concerned with the financial aspects of any operation it decided to undertake. France did not wish to paralyze the Council in a discussion of details but wished to avoid any difficulties for the Secretary-General which doubtless would occur if his mandate were defined too vaguely, thus giving rise to differences of interpretation by the members of the Council. The Council again discussed the India-Pakistan question on October 27 and 28, but took no action.

The Secretary-General's report of October 30 noted some improvement in the observance of the cease-fire by India and Pakistan, but said that local violations continued and tension was high. However, very little progress had been made on the question of the withdrawal of armed forces to positions held prior to August 5.

#### **Fifth Security Council Resolution**

When the Council next met on November 5, agreement had not yet been reached on arrangements for withdrawal. The Council considered a draft resolution sponsored by Bolivia, Ivory Coast, Malaysia, the Netherlands, and Uruguay, reaffirming the September 20 resolution "in all its parts" and requesting the Governments of India and Pakistan to cooperate in fully implementing the cease-fire. This resolution also demanded the prompt and unconditional execution of the agreement already reached in principle that representatives of the two parties and the Secretary-General meet for the purpose of formulating an agreed plan and schedule for withdrawal.

The U.S. Representative emphasized that this did not alter the even balance of the September 20 resolution which committed the Council to a consideration of the underlying problem as soon as the cease-fire and withdrawal stages were completed. He called upon the two governments to accept and implement, in cooperation with all organs of the United Nations, the draft resolution before the Council. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 9 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 (Jordan, U.S.S.R.) abstentions.

The Soviet Representative, explaining his vote, remarked that the Soviet Union had abstained because its previous objections regarding the administration and financing of the U.N. Observer group had not been taken into account.

On November 25 the Secretary-General announced the appointment of Brig. Gen. Tulio Marambio of Chile as his representative to meet

with representatives of India and Pakistan to formulate a schedule of withdrawals in accordance with the November 5 Security Council resolution. General Marambio arrived in the subcontinent early in December with a small staff to begin his consultations.

Throughout December there was a gradual relaxation of tension and a decrease in the number of armed incidents along the frontier between India and Pakistan and the cease-fire line in Kashmir. UNMOGIP and UNIPOM continued to observe conditions in their respective areas and to report to the U.N. Secretary-General.

## *Korea*

### **United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK)**

UNCURK was established by the General Assembly on October 7, 1950, to represent the United Nations in its efforts to achieve a unified, independent, and democratic Korea. It consists of representatives of Australia, Chile, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey.

On September 3, 1965, UNCURK submitted to the General Assembly its 15th report, covering the period from October 26, 1964, to September 3, 1965. Since the 19th General Assembly had been unable to discuss the Korean question because of the article 19 impasse, the Assembly also had before it UNCURK's report covering the preceding year that had been submitted on August 26, 1964. These reports related in detail the Commission's efforts to promote U.N. objectives in Korea and to seek an early settlement of the Korean question. UNCURK pointed out, as it had in previous reports, that its efforts were limited by the North Korean authorities' continued rejection of U.N. proposals and recommendations for the unification of Korea. In contrast, it noted, officials of the Republic of Korea continued to indicate their government's commitment to the settlement of the Korean question through the formula proposed by the United Nations. The report also described the economic and social progress within the Republic of Korea.

### **20th General Assembly Consideration**

Contrary to past practice, the Soviets raised no objection in the General Committee to having the Korean question considered by the Assembly. The General Committee allocated the item to the First Committee where it was considered as the final item, beginning December 20.



The Committee first took up two draft resolutions concerning the seating of Korean representatives. The first—cosponsored by Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States—contained three elements: it recalled that the Committee had decided at its last discussion of this item (1963) to invite a representative of the Republic of Korea to participate in the discussion; it also recalled that in earlier resolutions the Committee had decided that a North Korean representative might also participate provided the North Korean authorities first unequivocally accepted the United Nations competence and authority to take action on the Korean question; and, finally, noting that the Republic of Korea had accepted the U.N. authority but that North Korea had rejected it, the draft invited only the Representative of the Republic of Korea to take part in the discussion without the right to vote.

The second draft resolution, submitted by Guinea, Hungary, Mali, Mongolia, and Tanzania, proposed that representatives of both the Republic of Korea and North Korea be invited without conditions to participate.

Speaking in favor of the four-power draft, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador James M. Nabrit, Jr., pointed out that the usefulness of having a representative of the Republic of Korea present in these discussions had never been contested, particularly since that government had been established in 1948 in accordance with the procedures set forth by the General Assembly and had consistently supported the U.N. formula for the reunification of Korea.

"The history of North Korea's attitude towards the United Nations stands out in sharp contrast," he said, and quoted a statement by the North Korean Foreign Minister on September 26, 1965, that "the Korean question is not a question to be discussed at the United Nations. The United Nations has no right to discuss the Korean question." Opposing the five-power draft, the U.S. Representative said its sponsors appeared to be in the position of "wanting to invite to a party a guest who has no desire to attend, a party which in fact he insists cannot legally take place and which he admittedly wishes to break up."

The Representative of Saudi Arabia introduced a third draft resolution inviting representatives of both North Korea and South Korea to take part in the discussion of the Korean question during the next session of the General Assembly and, in the meantime, permitting the Representative of the Republic of Korea, who was already present at the United Nations, to make a statement before the Committee for the purpose of clarifying his government's position.

A request of the Tanzanian Representative that the five-power draft be given priority in the voting was rejected by a vote of 26 to

45 (U.S.), with 16 abstentions. The four-power resolution as a whole was adopted by a rollcall vote of 50 to 20, with 20 abstentions. Voting for the resolution were Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Central African Republic, China, Colombia, Congo (Léopoldville), Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Gabon, Greece, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Malaysia, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Panama, Peru, the Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Voting against were Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Syria, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., and Tanzania. Abstaining were Afghanistan, Burma, Ethiopia, Finland, Jamaica, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Sweden, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, and Yugoslavia.

Following this vote, the five-power draft was rejected by a vote of 28 to 39 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions. After further debate, the Saudi Arabian Representative stated that he would not press his draft resolution to a vote. A representative of the Republic of Korea, Ambassador Kim Yong Sik, was then invited to participate in the meetings to be held the following day, December 21.

On the substance of the Korean question, 13 nations—the United States, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the Malagasy Republic—sponsored a draft resolution reaffirming the traditional U.N. role in Korea. This draft took note of the two UNCURK reports before the Assembly, reaffirmed previous Assembly resolutions concerning the Korean question, noted that U.N. forces sent to Korea in accordance with U.N. resolutions had in great part already been withdrawn, and recalled the authority of the United Nations under the Charter to take collective action to repel aggression. The draft reaffirmed that the U.N. objective in Korea is to bring about by peaceful means the establishment of a unified, independent, and democratic Korea under a representative form of government and the full restoration of international peace and security in the area. It then called upon the North Korean authorities to accept these established U.N. objectives, and requested UNCURK to continue its work in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

Hungary and Mongolia submitted a draft resolution which called for the withdrawal within 6 months, with their armaments and equip-

ment, of all U.S. and other foreign military personnel stationed in South Korea, under the flag of the United Nations or on any other basis. It also called for the dissolution of UNCURK and directed the General Assembly to refrain from any further discussion of Korea in the United Nations.

#### U.S. POSITION

Speaking in support of the 13-power draft resolution on December 21, the U.S. Representative drew attention to the UNCURK report, which stated that "there continues to be in the Republic of Korea a strong desire for unification, and a belief that the formula best designed to achieve this objective is the one agreed upon by the General Assembly of the United Nations." The report, he noted, also stated that the Republic of Korea had given its full cooperation to the Commission, while the North Korean authorities had refused to deal with UNCURK, the United Nations principal representative in Korea.

The U.S. Representative pointed out that the U.N. formula for reunification was the only one yet proposed which would enable all the Korean people to exercise their right of self-determination in a manner guaranteeing their freedom to decide on the type of government and social system they desire.

The purpose of the resolution cosponsored by the United States was, he said:

. . . to enable the United Nations to reaffirm the commitments and conviction it has expressed so often in the past:

- the commitment to bring about the unification of Korea;
- the belief that unification must be achieved both peacefully and in a manner which reflects the freely-expressed will of the Korean people;
- the conviction that the problem of a divided Korea remains of vital concern to the United Nations, and that the United Nations Commission should therefore continue its work so that, at the very least, the door is kept open for unification in peace and through democratic means.

The U.S. Representative went on to note that the terms of the Hungarian-Mongolian draft resolution were clearly designed to perpetuate rather than terminate the division of Korea.

#### ASSEMBLY ACTION

At its final meeting on December 21, the First Committee adopted the 13-power draft resolution by a vote of 62 (U.S.) to 12, with 29 abstentions. The Hungarian Representative then withdrew his draft resolution.

Late that night, the General Assembly in plenary session adopted the 13-power draft by a vote of 61 to 13, with 34 abstentions. Those



voting affirmatively were Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Léopoldville), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Those voting negatively were Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian S.S.R., and U.S.S.R. Those abstaining were Afghanistan, Burma, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Maldive Islands, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

### **Armistice Meetings**

The Korean Armistice Agreement, concluded in 1953, remained in effect during 1965 and the Military Armistice Commission (MAC) met 22 times, bringing the total number of such meetings to 219. As in previous years, the Communist side attempted to utilize the MAC meetings to raise extraneous political and propagandistic issues which had no basis in fact and were outside the scope of the Commission's responsibilities. Representatives of the U.N. Command (UNC) refuted in detail Communist allegations of U.N. violations of the Armistice Agreement and in turn submitted complaints concerning the numerous violations by the Communist side. Meetings of the MAC were held as usual at Panmunjom, a neutral area in the demilitarized zone established by the 1953 Armistice Agreement.

### ***Oman***

The question of Oman was first brought to the United Nations in 1957, when 11 Arab states requested a Security Council meeting to consider "the armed aggression by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland against the independence, sovereignty, and the territorial integrity of the Imamate of Oman." This request was denied, but the question of Oman was subsequently discussed by the General Assembly at its 15th, 16th, and 17th sessions. Following

the 17th General Assembly, a Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Swedish Ambassador Herbert de Ribbing, visited the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman and reported on the situation there. At its 18th session, after considering the de Ribbing report, the General Assembly adopted a resolution establishing an *Ad Hoc* Committee of member states "to examine the question of Oman."

Pursuant to this resolution a committee consisting of representatives of Afghanistan, Costa Rica, Nepal, Nigeria, and Senegal visited the United Kingdom, the United Arab Republic, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia in September 1964, interviewing British officials, Omani refugees, the Imam of Oman, and others. The Sultan of Muscat and Oman saw the chairman of the Committee in London but would not give the Committee permission to visit the Sultanate.

### Report of the Ad Hoc Committee

On January 8, 1965, the *Ad Hoc* Committee submitted a 222-page report which fully reviewed the question of Oman at the United Nations, the historical background of the problem, the pertinent agreements and treaties bearing on the question, and the political situation there. The Committee concluded that: (1) the question of Oman was "a serious international problem, requiring the special attention of the General Assembly," and (2) the problem derived from "imperialistic policies and foreign intervention in Muscat and Oman." The Committee recommended that all parties concerned "enter into negotiations to settle the question without prejudice to the position taken by either side." It said that the United Nations "should assist in bringing a solution to the problem by . . . the establishment of a Good Offices Committee," and that any action by the General Assembly "should be designed to achieve the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the people of Muscat and Oman." It also recommended that the General Assembly call upon: (1) the Imam and the Sultan "to make every effort to settle the question through the facilities of the Good Offices Committee," (2) the United Kingdom "to facilitate a negotiated settlement and to use its close and friendly relationship with the Sultan to encourage such a settlement," and (3) the Arab states "to make every effort to encourage a negotiated settlement."

### General Assembly Consideration

At the 20th General Assembly the Oman question was again allocated to the Fourth Committee (Trusteeship and Non-Self Governing Territories), where it was debated from December 1 through December 7, 1965. The Arab states, the countries represented on the *Ad*

*Hoc* Committee, members of the Soviet bloc, the United States, and the United Kingdom participated in the debate.

The views of the Arab states, supported by the Soviet bloc, were largely reflected in the 30-power draft resolution introduced following the debate on December 13 by Algeria, Burundi, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Cyprus, Ghana, Guinea, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, and Zambia. This draft recognized "the inalienable right of the people of the Territory as a whole to self-determination and independence in accordance with their freely expressed wishes" and called upon the United Kingdom to "effect immediately . . . (a) Cessation of all repressive actions against the people of the Territory; (b) Withdrawal of British troops; (c) Release of political prisoners and political detainees and the return of the political exiles to the Territory; (d) Elimination of British domination in any form." It also invited the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (usually referred to as the Committee of 24 or the Special Committee) "to examine the situation in this Territory" and requested the Secretary-General "to take, in consultation with the Special Committee, appropriate measures for the implementation of the present resolution."

The U.K. Representative had spoken early in the debate, stressing that the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman was a fully independent and sovereign country which had exclusive responsibility for its internal affairs, and that therefore what the *Ad Hoc* Committee had termed a "serious international problem" was in fact an internal affair of a single country. The Committee's implication, he said, that the United Kingdom exerted excessive and undesirable influence in the affairs of Muscat and Oman was contrary to evidence "in their own report and elsewhere." He reminded the Committee, in addition, that the de Ribbing report had confirmed that peace and security reigned in Muscat and Oman.

#### U.S. POSITION

During the debate the U.S. Representative, Congressman Barratt O'Hara, recalled that in 1963 the United States had drawn the Fourth Committee's attention to the existence of treaty relations between the United States and the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman for 132 years. He asserted that, in view of this long and continuing relationship, there could be, as far as the United States was concerned, "no questioning of the sovereignty or independence of the Sultanate." He



noted that the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, while denying that Oman was a colony or protectorate in any formal sense, had termed the relationship between the United Kingdom and the Sultan "very special and rather exclusive." The U.S. treaty with Muscat and Oman, which was renewed in 1958, recognized no such special and exclusive relationship. He explained that the U.S. Consul General in Aden was also the U.S. representative to the Sultan of Muscat and Oman and that no other country had "any say" in U.S. relations with the Sultan. Further, the United States doubted the utility of a Good Offices Committee such as that suggested in the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee. He concluded by expressing the sincere hope that a peaceful settlement of the dispute in the Sultanate acceptable to the people could be found so that the people of Muscat and Oman could get on with the many social and economic problems that they faced in a changing and developing world.

#### ASSEMBLY ACTION

The 30-power draft resolution was adopted by the Fourth Committee on December 14 by a vote of 55 to 15 (U.S.), with 26 abstentions.

Before voting in plenary session, the General Assembly discussed whether a simple or two-thirds majority would be required for its adoption. The proponents of a simple majority argued that Oman, while not unimportant, was a colonial issue and, as in the case of many other colonial issues, could therefore be acted upon by a simple majority. The question of Oman was not, they believed, a question concerning maintenance of international peace and security. Nor did they agree that the Assembly should follow past procedures with regard to Oman, under which a two-thirds majority would be required.

In the procedural debate on the Oman resolution, the U.S. Representative said that the United States believed Oman was certainly an "important question" and therefore under the U.N. Charter and the General Assembly Rules of Procedure, required a two-thirds majority. He added that, since the resolution called for the removal of British troops, it would come under the specific provision of the Charter and the Rules of Procedure defining important questions as including "recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security."

The Assembly voted 63 to 37 (U.S.), with 12 abstentions, that the adoption of the Oman resolution would be by a simple majority. It then voted 57 to 22 (U.S.), with 32 abstentions, to adopt paragraphs 6 and 7 of the resolution (inviting the Committee of 24 to examine the situation in Oman and requesting the Secretary-General to take appropriate measures for implementation of the resolution). The resolution as a whole was adopted 61 to 18 (U.S.), with 32 abstentions.

*Palestine Question***United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)****19TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION**

The Palestine Arab refugee issue was not considered in committee at the 19th session of the General Assembly. On February 8, 1965, the Secretary-General announced that "the delegations principally concerned" had generally agreed to extend the mandate of UNRWA for 1 year beyond the scheduled termination date of June 30, 1965. Accordingly, on February 15 the Assembly adopted, unanimously and without debate, a resolution extending the mandate of UNRWA until June 30, 1966. The resolution specified that the extension was "without prejudice to existing resolutions or to the positions of the interested parties."

Representatives of governments contributing to UNRWA met on February 15, 1965, and pledged a total equivalent of \$32.2 million for the support of UNRWA in 1965. Other contributions announced subsequently brought the total for governmental support of UNRWA in 1965 to \$34.1 million.

The Commissioner General of UNRWA, Laurence Michelmore, addressed the pledging conference and assured all concerned that UNRWA, in consultation with the countries where the refugees were living and the members of the UNRWA Advisory Commission, would seek further improvements in the conduct of its activities, including the distribution of food rations, to secure for the genuinely needy refugees the maximum benefit. He also said that since UNRWA's expenditure had exceeded its income by about \$2 million in 1964, its working capital had been reduced to a minimum level. The Commissioner General warned that unless contributions were increased, certain services would have to be reduced.

The United States announced that it would contribute \$24.7 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, with a portion of the contribution again to be in the form of foodstuffs required by UNRWA for the refugees. As in the past, the U.S. contribution was to be available only to the extent that it did not exceed 70 percent of total governmental contributions.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, stated, however, that the United States continued to feel it was bearing "an unduly high proportion of UNRWA's expenses" and that, accordingly, it planned to reduce its total contribution by \$1 million the following year. He observed that the United States and the United Kingdom had undertaken a global effort to raise funds for

UNRWA in 1964; the countries directly concerned should assume more responsibility in seeking funds for UNRWA.

The U.S. Representative pointed out that UNRWA costs were rising to such a point that some reduction in operations was necessary. The United States believed that the necessary economies could be accomplished "by the long needed rectification of the relief rolls without affecting provision of relief to genuinely needy refugees." The U.S. pledge was made, he said, on the understanding that UNRWA would undertake the reduction of \$600,000 in the relief budget proposed in the Commissioner General's report for 1963-64, and also that funds allocated for education, health, or other sections of the budget would not be transferred to the relief budget.

#### 20TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

The 20th General Assembly's Special Political Committee began consideration of the Palestine refugee issue on October 11, 1965. As in the past, the item appeared on the agenda as the annual report of the Commissioner General of UNRWA.

The Commissioner General opened the debate by stressing the financial difficulties confronting UNRWA, which he felt threatened the collapse of the services that UNRWA was providing to the refugees. The Agency had projected a deficit of \$4.2 million in 1966 and would be unable to finance this by again drawing down its limited working capital. He concluded by quoting the section of his report in which he asked the General Assembly to provide guidance on the size and structure of the UNRWA program in view of these financial difficulties.

The Special Political Committee heard 58 member states on the refugee issue during its 5-week consideration of the UNRWA item. The Committee also agreed, after considerable debate, to hear members of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), an organization of Palestine refugees. The Committee specified that its permission for the PLO members to speak did not signify recognition of the PLO by the Committee.

*U.S. Position.* The U.S. Representative, Congressman Peter Frelinghuysen, spoke on November 9, after the Committee had already heard from Israel and most of the Arab states. He said that in view of UNRWA's financial difficulties, the U.S. Government hoped the General Assembly would respond to the Commissioner General's plea for additional funds. He pointed out, however, that UNRWA also faced other problems, such as rectification of relief rolls to remove ineligible, the eligibility for rations of the original refugees' grandchildren ("the third generation"), and removal from



the relief rolls of individuals undergoing training with the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA), the military arm of the PLO. He said:

The question of rectification merges with the problem of the eligibility of the third generation—with all of its financial, as well as other implications. The first task is to take care of the refugees already on the rolls or now eligible for inscription. As a practical matter, it is unrealistic to advocate the inclusion of the third generation when UNRWA some time ago was obliged by budgetary limitations to place a ceiling on the number of second generation children receiving rations. We believe the Commissioner General would be well advised to concentrate his efforts on these. It is self-evident he will be able to continue to provide services even to these only within the limits of the funds which are made available to him. In this connection it is also clear that UNRWA could not at this time even contemplate the question of providing services to the persons referred to in the report of the Commissioner General as “other claimants.” We share the views of the French representative that there is danger that unless the rolls are revised to make it possible to effect substantial savings, expansion of the rolls could harm the present beneficiaries.

On the subject of the PLA, the U.S. Representative stated that the United States understood that a substantial number of Palestinians from the Gaza Strip were in military training under the auspices of the PLO. He said it was “totally inappropriate” and “inadmissible” for a U.N. agency to give support, directly or indirectly, to an organization such as the PLO, which was apparently dedicated to the destruction of a member state. He urged UNRWA to take measures to insure that its rations did not go to the PLA recruits.

Turning to the broader aspects of the refugee problem, he said that despite the apparent lack of progress toward a fundamental solution, the United States was convinced that the search for a solution should not be abandoned. In the meantime the United States, traditionally the main supporter of UNRWA, would continue to make substantial contributions to it.

*U.S. Draft Resolution.* The U.S. Representative presented a draft resolution which noted UNRWA's financial difficulties; called upon all governments “as a matter of urgency to make the most generous effort possible to meet the anticipated financial needs”; directed the Commissioner General to take necessary measures, “including rectification of the relief rolls . . . to assure the most equitable distribution of relief based on need” and invited “the full cooperation of the Governments concerned”; called upon the U.N. Conciliation Commission for Palestine (PCC) to continue its efforts for the implementation of that paragraph of the 1948 General Assembly resolution providing for repatriation or compensation of the refugees (paragraph 11 of General Assembly Resolution 194); and extended the mandate of UNRWA for 3 years, or until June 30, 1969.

Pakistan and Somalia on the one hand, and Israel on the other, introduced amendments to this draft resolution.

The amendments introduced by Pakistan and Somalia (1) added preambular paragraphs generally stressing refugee rights; (2) moved to the operative section the last preambular paragraph of the U.S. draft resolution (which noted the failure to implement either paragraph 11 of Resolution 194 or the program for reintegration of the refugees endorsed by the General Assembly in 1952); (3) added an operative paragraph deploring "Israel's continued refusal to implement paragraph 11 of Resolution 194 . . ."; (4) changed the operative paragraph of the U.S. draft concerning rectification to instruct the Commissioner General to proceed "in cooperation with the governments concerned" and "in accordance with" a complicated set of proposals contained in the Commissioner General's report, which had the effect of declaring the "third generation" of refugees eligible to receive UNRWA relief; (5) directed the PCC to "intensify" rather than "continue" its efforts and report by October 1, 1966; and (6) extended the mandate of UNRWA "without prejudice to the right of the refugees to repatriation or compensation."

The Israeli amendment included paragraphs (1) deploring "the continued refusal of the Arab Governments concerned to enter into negotiations for an agreed solution of the refugee problem," and (2) renewing the General Assembly's appeal for direct negotiations between the governments concerned.

In addition to these amendments, a separate draft resolution for the establishment of a custodian for Arab refugee property remaining in Israel was introduced by Afghanistan and Malaysia.

The United States opposed both sets of amendments, the U.S. Representative explained, because the U.S. delegation had already carefully considered the views contained in them and had incorporated those it considered appropriate in its draft resolution. The United States had sought a "sound balance between sometimes conflicting points of view," and had tried to present a resolution "acceptable to the greatest possible majority of the members of the Committee." Either set of amendments would disrupt the balance of the U.S. draft resolution.

The Committee voted on the amendments and the resolutions on November 17. Before the voting, however, Pakistan and Somalia withdrew their third amendment. Also before the voting, Israel announced that it would not press its amendments to a vote. The Pakistani and Somali amendments, with the deletion mentioned above, were then adopted 43 (Arab states) to 39 (U.S., Israel), with 23 abstentions. The U.S. draft resolution as amended was then adopted 47 (Arab states) to 31 (U.S., Israel), with 17 abstentions. The Afghan and Malaysian draft resolution establishing a property

custodian was defeated 34 (Arab states) to 38 (U.S., Israel), with 23 abstentions.

*Assembly Action.* In the 4 weeks between the Committee's action and consideration by the plenary, the United States negotiated with the parties directly concerned in an attempt to produce a resolution more generally acceptable. (The U.S. draft resolution as amended did not receive in committee the two-thirds majority which would have been required for adoption in plenary.) As a result of these negotiations, a new draft resolution was introduced by Nigeria and given priority at the plenary session over the resolution approved by the Committee. This resolution differed from the U.S. draft resolution in that: (1) the last preambular paragraph of the U.S. draft was moved to the operative section; (2) the operative paragraph of the U.S. draft concerning the need for distribution of relief based on need was changed to instruct the Commissioner General to act "in cooperation with" the governments concerned; (3) the PCC was called upon to "intensify" rather than only to "continue" its efforts, and to report by October 1, 1966; and (4) extension of UNRWA's mandate was specified to be "without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 11 of Resolution 194." The General Assembly adopted the Nigerian resolution 91 (U.S., Arab states) to 1 (Israel), with 7 abstentions.

In presenting his draft resolution, the Nigerian Delegate said he believed it represented "the broadest possible basis of agreement between the parties directly concerned." He explained that the revised wording of the paragraph concerning distribution of relief based on need would "give the Commissioner General the necessary latitude to carry on with rectification of the relief rolls on an appropriate basis with the cooperation of the host governments."

In explaining the U.S. vote on the Nigerian resolution, the U.S. Representative said that, while somewhat different in wording from the U.S. draft, it had "the same equitable qualities." He noted in particular the Nigerian resolution's mention of the need for rectification and hoped that the host governments would give "their fullest cooperation to the efforts of the Commissioner General in this regard." He also re-emphasized the United States anxiety, which he had noted in his statement of November 9, concerning reports that men undergoing military training under the auspices of the PLO were receiving UNRWA rations. Finally, he assured the Assembly that the United States, as a member of the PCC, would "give full attention" to the recommendations contained in the resolution.

*Financial Pledges for 1966 Program.* At a meeting on December 20, 1965, representatives of governments contributing to UNRWA pledged the equivalent of \$30.8 million for its support in 1966. Total



governmental contributions to UNRWA for 1966 were expected eventually to be about \$35.2 million.

The United States pledged \$22.9 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966. (At the pledging conference in February 1965 the U.S. Representative had announced the United States intention to reduce its 1966 contribution by \$1 million. Subsequently, the Congress made an additional cut of \$0.8 million, resulting in a final figure of \$22.9 million.) As before, a portion of the U.S. contribution was to be in the form of foodstuffs required by UNRWA for the refugees, and the contribution was to be available only to the extent that it did not exceed 70 percent of the total governmental contributions.

The U.S. Representative cited the U.S. contribution as "a concrete demonstration of the United States Government's continuing and sincere concern for the welfare of the refugees," reiterating the U.S. belief "that the community of nations as a whole should manifest an equal degree of concern for the plight of the refugees and that this concern should be manifested in financial support."

#### **United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine (PCC)**

The PCC (composed of France, Turkey, and the United States) issued its 23d Progress Report on December 28, 1965. This report stated that despite some accomplishments in related areas, "the Commission could make no progress in finding a practical means, acceptable to parties concerned, for assisting in achieving a final settlement of the questions outstanding between them, nor can the Commission report any progress in its efforts to assist in finding a means for implementing paragraph 11 of General Assembly Resolution 194 (III)." The report described the PCC's activity in connection with the completion of its work of identifying and evaluating Arab refugee immovable property holdings in Israel. Following release of its 22d Progress Report, dated May 11, 1964, the Commission had reiterated to the countries concerned the readiness of its technical representative to receive inquiries on its evaluation and identification project. The Commission reported that it had received a number of communications from individuals seeking to know whether their property was registered in the Commission's files, and presenting information on the value of their property. The Commission found these inquiries encouraging because "only in minor instances has it not been possible to correlate completely the individual's own statements of property holdings with the Commission's records." The technical representative had not been authorized to discuss specific values ascribed to properties because the Commission considered that these values "would have a meaning

only in the event of an agreed undertaking involving properties or compensation," when they would provide relative figures "to which adjustments responsive to the situation at that time could be applied."

The Commission concluded by expressing its concern about "the intractable nature of the differences between the parties concerned" and by assuring U.N. members that, in accordance with the 20th General Assembly's resolution of December 15, 1965, it would endeavor to intensify its efforts to seek a solution.

### United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF)

The United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) acts as a border patrol and buffer force on the Armistice Demarcation Line (ADL) and the International Frontier (IF) between Israel and the United Arab Republic. The U.N. Secretary-General reported on September 22, 1965, that UNEF continued "to serve effectively as a stabilizing influence in maintaining the peace in the Gaza/Sinai area of operations."

The Secretary-General noted that there had been a slight increase in the number of violations on the ADL and IF in 1964-65, and that some of these incidents had been more serious than any which had occurred in 1963-64. He reported, however, that "owing to good understanding and cooperation between UNEF and the local authorities," these incidents had not developed into anything still more serious.

#### EFFORTS TO REDUCE COSTS

In November 1965 the Secretary-General announced formation of a six-man study team headed by Lt. Gen. Sean McKeown, Chief of Staff of the Irish Army, to study UNEF operations with particular reference to its functioning and cost "in view of the acute and uncertain financial situation affecting UNEF." In its report dated December 13, 1965, the study team recommended a "streamlining" of UNEF which could result in future savings of \$3.5 million a year.

Canada, India, Brazil, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark would all continue to contribute contingents under the plan proposed by the study team, but the Scandinavian countries would contribute contingents in rotation rather than concurrently, and Canada would contribute only air and service units, dropping its reconnaissance squadron. Some units would be increased slightly but overall the result would be a net reduction of 622 men from the 4581 on which the 1966 budget estimates were based. (The Force had already been reduced by 350 men since July 1964.) These changes should result in greater operational efficiency. The study team also recommended

(1) that UNEF's base at Rafah in the Gaza Strip be surveyed by independent experts with a view to possible savings, and (2) that establishment of a uniform system of troop rotation based on 1 year's service with UNEF again be explored with the governments concerned.

The study team did not recommend larger cuts in the UNEF budget because, it explained, "these would inevitably affect the Force's capacity to discharge its present functions and would possibly result in an increase of incidents and violations along the Line." The team added that it did not believe any radical reorganization or reduction of UNEF would be advisable unless the UNEF mandate were altered or limited, and that it had concluded that a change in the mandate was "not feasible in the prevailing conditions."

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

In transmitting the report of the study team, the Secretary-General asked the General Assembly's Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary) to accept the team's recommendation for a \$16.5 million UNEF budget in 1966 (a reduction of \$2 million from previous estimates) with the full \$3.5 million cut to take effect in 1967. The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) was of the opinion, however, that the Secretary-General might "well be able to effect further savings" in UNEF costs in 1966, and suggested that the General Assembly set \$15 million as a target figure for UNEF in 1966. The Fifth Committee, after considering the Secretary-General's revised cost estimates and the recommendation of the ACABQ, adopted a draft resolution appropriating \$18.9 million for 1965 and \$15 million for the operation of UNEF in 1966. The General Assembly adopted this resolution by a vote of 44 to 14, with 45 (U.S.) abstentions, on December 21, 1965. (See page 345.)

The U.S. Representative, Mr. Frelinghuysen, speaking in the Fifth Committee, stated that there could be little doubt that the presence of the Force had been a vital factor in preserving peace and quiet in the Middle East. He noted that the Force had been in the Middle East for some 9 years, however, and that as a result some member states appeared to have become concerned about the need to continue to carry the financial burden of the Force, which was originally established, as its name implied, as an emergency measure. The cost reductions proposed by the Secretary-General "should reassure member states which had begun to worry about what appeared to be a static situation." He added that the United States hoped the Secretary-General would keep the matter of further possible reductions under continuous review and would repeat periodically surveys of the type that had proved to be so successful in 1965.



*Senegal-Portugal Dispute*

In 1963 the Security Council in considering Senegalese complaints against Portuguese incursions across its border from Portuguese Guinea had unanimously adopted a resolution deploring any incursion by Portuguese military forces into Senegalese territory and requesting the Government of Portugal, in accordance with its declared intentions, to take whatever action might be necessary to prevent any violation of Senegal's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In letters dated February 4 and 24, 1965, Senegal again complained to the Security Council of Portuguese border violations. Portugal, in two letters dated February 16 and March 16, denied any violation of the territorial integrity of Senegal and insisted that any border incidents were a result of penetration of armed terrorists into Portuguese Guinea from Senegal.

In a third letter to the Security Council on May 7, Senegal alleged that Portuguese forces had repeatedly violated its territory since the adoption of the Security Council resolution of April 24, 1963, and called urgently for a meeting of the Council to consider these new violations. The Security Council convened on May 12. Portugal, Senegal, and later, the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) were invited to participate without vote.

During the Security Council discussion Senegal elaborated its charges of Portuguese aggression, citing many incidents in detail. Portugal in turn denied all charges made by Senegal, and called for U.N. investigation of the facts, requesting Senegal to make use of the peaceful settlement opportunities offered by article 33 of the Charter—inquiry, mediation, arbitration, and judicial settlement. Portugal accused Senegal of harboring and assisting armed units which “attack the peaceful populations of Portuguese Guinea.”

On May 19 the Security Council adopted unanimously a resolution sponsored by the Ivory Coast, Jordan, and Malaysia. In this resolution the Security Council:

1. deeply deplored “any incursions by Portuguese military forces into Senegalese territory”;
2. reaffirmed its resolution of April 24, 1963;
3. requested “once again the Government of Portugal to take all effective and necessary action to prevent any violation of Senegal's sovereignty and territorial integrity”; and
4. requested “the Secretary-General to follow the development of the situation.”

Prior to the final vote the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, stated that although the United States intended to vote for the resolution, it had some important reservations about

the terms in which it was drafted. For example, the draft took no cognizance of Portugal's letters to the Council or of possible incursions from Senegal into Portuguese Guinea. The U.S. Representative suggested that perhaps Portugal's proposal for an investigating commission should be given further consideration, and concluded his statement:

I am sure that the utilization of the peaceful approaches and machinery of the Charter to help provide assurances against further border incidents and the heightening of tensions is both a proper and a constructive approach to the problem, and we urge the parties concerned to view the resolution in this light.

### *South Africa—Apartheid*

South Africa's official policy of racial discrimination (*apartheid*) was considered during 1965 by a special expert committee of the Security Council, by the General Assembly's Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (also known as the Special Committee on *Apartheid*), and, during the 20th General Assembly, by the Assembly's Special Political Committee and in plenary sessions. In addition, on July 28, 32 African states submitted a request for urgent Security Council consideration of the *apartheid* question. Because of successive postponements, however, the Council did not consider *apartheid* during 1965.

### **Report of the Expert Committee on Measures**

By a Security Council resolution of June 18, 1964, a group of experts representing each member of the Security Council was established to undertake a technical and practical study and report to the Council on the "feasibility, effectiveness, and implications of measures with respect to South Africa which could, as appropriate, be taken by the Security Council under the United Nations Charter." The Secretary-General and all member states were requested to cooperate with the Committee, which was to submit its report no later than February 28, 1965. The United States was represented by the Honorable Seymour J. Rubin. France did not participate in any way in the Committee's activities. The Expert Committee on Measures began its work on July 20, 1964, and recessed November 13, 1964, after forwarding a questionnaire to all member states requesting detailed information on their economic and financial relations with South Africa and on the effects that curtailment of these activities might have on their economies.

The Expert Committee resumed work on January 12, 1965, and at its 33d meeting on February 24 received three sets of draft conclusions sponsored respectively by Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R.,

by the Ivory Coast and Morocco, and by the United States. The following day the Representatives of Bolivia and Brazil jointly submitted a fourth set of draft conclusions. At the Committee's meeting on February 26, the U.S. Representative indicated that he would not press the U.S. draft conclusions and the Committee proceeded to vote on the three sets of draft conclusions remaining before it.

The draft conclusions submitted by Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R. were rejected by a vote of 4 (Czechoslovakia, Ivory Coast, Morocco, U.S.S.R.) to 6 (Bolivia, Brazil, China, Norway, U.K., U.S.). The draft conclusions submitted by the Ivory Coast and Morocco were rejected by a vote of 4 (Czechoslovakia, Ivory Coast, Morocco, U.S.S.R.) to 5 (Bolivia, Brazil, Norway, U.K., U.S.), with 1 (China) abstention. Finally, the Expert Committee, by a vote of 6 (Bolivia, Brazil, China, Norway, U.K., U.S.) to 4 (Czechoslovakia, Ivory Coast, Morocco, U.S.S.R.), adopted the draft conclusions submitted by Bolivia and Brazil.

In its report to the Security Council dated February 27, 1965, the Expert Committee stated that it had considered detailed information regarding the South African economy, as well as information provided by a number of states regarding their economic relations with South Africa, and had given special attention to possible implications of economic measures upon the economies of member states. Emphasis was also given to recommendations made previously by the United Nations and by various conferences on the question of economic and other measures against South Africa.

The majority of the Committee had agreed that although not readily susceptible to economic measures, South Africa was not immune to damage from them. Their degree of effectiveness would depend on the universality of their application, the manner and the duration of their enforcement, and the availability of alternatives to South Africa. The report stated that the South African economy would be affected by a total trade blockade and by an interdiction of communications. Other measures with an appreciable potential impact were an embargo on petroleum and petroleum products, a cessation of emigration, and a ban on financial transactions. The Committee noted the problem of establishing adequate international machinery under the aegis of the United Nations to prevent circumvention of measures by states and individuals, as well as problems arising from the noncooperation of states. The report noted that some members of the Committee had spoken of the need for a total blockade to make the measures effective, and pointed to the great cost of such an operation; others had thought the measures might be effective with a partial blockade.



The Representatives of Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R. submitted a dissenting note, categorically opposing the conclusions adopted by the Committee. The Representatives of the Ivory Coast and Morocco reaffirmed that their draft conclusions, rejected by the Committee, were the conclusions that should have been adopted.

### Education and Training

The Security Council resolution which established the Expert Committee had also invited the Secretary-General, in consultation with appropriate U.N. Specialized Agencies, to establish a program for the education and training abroad of South Africans. Pursuant to this resolution, the Secretary-General on April 2, 1965, informally submitted an initial program calling for an expenditure of between \$200,000 and \$250,000 for the 1965-66 academic year and requested contributions from the United States, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. On June 25 the United States informed the Secretary-General that it would contribute \$75,000 to the program. Contributions were also made by Denmark (\$37,000), Norway (\$25,000), Sweden (\$30,000), and the United Kingdom (\$70,000).

In his report of November 9, the Secretary-General stated that as a result of his experience with the initial program, he intended to enlarge the U.N. education and training program for South Africans. The program would be financed by voluntary contributions and would cover a 3-year period at a cost of \$2 million.

### Relief to Families

The Secretary-General reported to the General Assembly on January 22, June 24, and September 30, 1965, on the implementation of that part of the General Assembly's resolution of December 16, 1963, which requested him to seek ways and means of providing relief and assistance, through the appropriate international agencies, to the families of all persons persecuted by the Government of South Africa for opposition to the policies of *apartheid*, and invited member states and organizations to contribute generously to such relief and assistance.

In the January 22 report the Secretary-General stated that he had communicated the resolution to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, with a request that they consider the matter and inform him as soon as possible regarding action which might be taken.

In reply, the High Commissioner for Refugees had said that his office was prepared to help meet the immediate needs of refugees

when requested by a government, but so far he had not received any such request. He said, however, that he was in contact with interested governments and followed developments in order to determine the possibilities of useful cooperation.

The President of the International Committee of the Red Cross had said that the matter of assistance had been discussed with South Africa's National Red Cross Society. It appeared that the South African Red Cross was prepared in principle to assist the families of any detainees in case of need. The Society stated, however, that it "intended in this matter to act alone and in close contact with the competent authorities, should they consider it necessary to request . . . assistance."

Subsequently, the Secretary-General had welcomed suggestions by officers of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* that the Committee might make an appeal to member states and organizations, through the Secretary-General, to contribute urgently and generously to existing relief organizations pending the conclusion of other appropriate arrangements. Such an appeal had been transmitted to member states on October 30, 1964.

On June 24, 1965, the Secretary-General reported that in response to the appeal five countries—India, Sweden, the Netherlands, Pakistan, and Denmark—had pledged contributions. On September 30, the Secretary-General reported additional contributions by Greece, the Philippines, and Iraq.

### Special Committee on Apartheid

The Special Committee on *Apartheid*, established in 1962 by the 17th General Assembly, consists of Algeria, Costa Rica, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, the Philippines, and Somalia. The Committee submitted two reports to the Assembly in 1965. The first, on June 16, cited the "continued intransigence of the South African Government and its intensification of the policies of *apartheid*" and stated that mandatory economic sanctions under chapter VII of the Charter were the only effective peaceful means available to the international community to resolve the situation in South Africa. The Committee stated that South Africa's major trading partners had greatly increased their trade with her and that investments in South Africa had continued to facilitate the buildup of the military and police forces there. The Committee's report concluded with a call upon members of the Security Council, particularly the permanent members, to "assume their responsibilities and obligations under the Charter and take the action which is required by the Charter and which is essential to preserve the authority of the United Nations and to forestall a dangerous conflict."

In its second report, submitted August 17, the Special Committee on *Apartheid* stated that a number of developments, among them the impression in South Africa that the report of the Security Council Committee on Measures "reflected little likelihood of effective economic sanctions in the near future because of the continued opposition of certain Great Powers and major trading partners," had emboldened the South African Government to continue on its disastrous course. The Committee reaffirmed its call for mandatory sanctions under chapter VII and recommended a number of diplomatic and economic measures designed to persuade the South African Government (1) to abandon the policies of *apartheid*, (2) to call a national convention of all elements of the population to decide the future of their country, and (3) to implement provisions of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. In addition, the Committee cited the Secretary-General's program for education and training of South Africans and proposed a trust fund for victims of *apartheid* as two programs of a humanitarian character that would usefully complement diplomatic and economic measures.

### General Assembly Consideration

During the 20th General Assembly the agenda item, "The Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa," which has been before the Assembly since 1952, was considered by the Special Political Committee from November 29 to December 7, and again on December 20, 1965. The Special Political Committee had before it the reports of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, as well as the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the General Assembly's resolution of December 16, 1963.

On November 30 the Tunisian Representative spoke on a point of order to call the Committee's attention to the absence of the South African delegation and to suggest that the Committee authorize the chairman to approach the South African delegation and invite it to participate in the Committee's work. A number of delegations endorsed the suggestion, and the Committee agreed unanimously to request the chairman to undertake the task.

On December 1 the chairman informed the Committee that he had been unsuccessful in his efforts. In a conversation with the chairman and subsequently in a letter dated December 3, the South African Representative reiterated the position South Africa had taken in a 1963 letter to the President of the Security Council, that, in the circumstances, an affirmative response to the Committee's invitation would constitute a fundamental abrogation of its position that under article 2(7) of the Charter the United Nations was precluded from consider-



ing the *apartheid* question, which fell within South Africa's domestic jurisdiction.

On December 6 Tunisia introduced a resolution with Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Guinea, Morocco, and Togo, which took note of the South African reply, deplored its continued refusal to participate in the Committee's debates, and condemned South Africa's "negative attitude and lack of cooperation" in efforts of the United Nations to find a peaceful solution to the question of *apartheid*. This draft resolution was subsequently withdrawn.

#### U.S. POSITION

On December 2 the U.S. Representative, Congressman Barratt O'Hara, reviewed in detail the views of the United States on the racial policies of the Government of South Africa, the status of efforts by the community of nations to persuade South Africa to change its policies, and "the efforts of the United States in concert with the United Nations and unilaterally to persuade the South African Government to change its disastrous course and to insure that the Government of South Africa is under no illusions that it will receive aid or comfort from the United States in pursuit of *apartheid*." He stated:

We do not pretend to have achieved our goal of ridding the fabric of our own society of discrimination. We are, however, determined to pursue that goal actively, and have taken steps to equip our laws with effective machinery to redress the legitimate grievances of our people.

We do not pretend that all countries actively pursue governmental policies dedicated to the total realization of human rights. We are, however, dismayed that as most of the world seeks the total realization of human rights, the South African Government should be devoting so much of its considerable energies to the suppression of political and human rights. *Apartheid* is an immoral, destructive and dangerous doctrine.

Stating that the South African Government had largely ignored the 20-year effort of the United Nations to achieve a peaceful change in the *apartheid* policy, the U.S. Representative cited the Security Council's June 18, 1964, resolution as typical of the combination of steps necessary to achieve a solution of the increasingly repressive situation in South Africa. He described the events that had resulted from each of the resolution's four points, noting particularly: (1) South Africa's rebuff of the Security Council's invitation for "reasonable steps" leading to the ultimate solution of the *apartheid* problem; (2) the conclusions of the Security Council's Expert Committee on Measures; (3) the U.S. contribution of \$75,000 to the Secretary-General's program for education and training of South Africans, and the U.S. willingness to examine sympathetically the Secretary-General's recommendations for an enlarged program; and (4) the

U.S. adherence to the embargo on the sale of arms, ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition in South Africa.

The U.S. Representative noted that despite the arms embargo South Africa continued to receive substantial quantities of modern sophisticated weaponry. He continued:

Mr. President, notwithstanding uninformed statements to the contrary by some, any strengthening of the South African military since the imposition of the arms embargo has not resulted from sales by the United States. . . . the monetary effect of the United States arms embargo at a time of our own balance of payments problem has been substantial: The United States has denied a minimum of \$115 million in sales in less than two years. We estimate that as much as an additional \$285 million in orders which normally would have been placed in the United States have been placed elsewhere during the two-year period.

The U.S. Representative concluded his statement by affirming that the United States would continue its cooperation in collective efforts within the terms of the Charter to ameliorate the damaging effect of *apartheid*, to secure compliance with the Charter, and to secure observance of the most elementary concept governing relations among men—respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms without distinction to race, sex, language, or religion.

#### ASSEMBLY ACTION

On December 3 the Guinean Representative introduced a resolution, eventually sponsored by Haiti, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and 45 Afro-Asian countries, which recalled previous U.N. resolutions on the *apartheid* question. In its operative paragraphs, the resolution “urgently” appealed to South Africa’s major trading partners to “cease their increasing economic collaboration with the Government of South Africa which encourages that Government to defy world opinion and accelerate the implementation of the policies of *apartheid*.” It expressed appreciation for the work of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* and enlarged it by six members, to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly on the basis of (1) primary responsibility with regard to world trade; (2) primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security; and (3) equitable geographical distribution. South Africa was once again condemned for its refusal to comply with U.N. resolutions and for its continued implementation of the policies of *apartheid*. The draft resolution expressed firm support for all those opposing *apartheid*, particularly those combating such policies in South Africa, and drew the attention of the Security Council to the fact that the situation in South Africa constituted a threat to international peace and security requiring the universal application of

economic sanctions under chapter VII. The draft resolution requested full compliance with the embargo on the sale of arms, military equipment, ammunition, military vehicles, and equipment and materials intended for their manufacture and maintenance, and deplored the actions of those states that "through political, economic and military collaboration with the Government of South Africa are encouraging it to persist in its racial policies." Finally, the resolution invited the Specialized Agencies to take steps to deny technical and economic assistance to South Africa, without however interfering with humanitarian assistance to the victims of *apartheid*, and to take active measures within their fields of competence to compel the Government of South Africa to abandon its racial policies.

Three separate paragraph votes were taken in the Special Political Committee before the resolution was voted upon as a whole. The operative paragraph appealing to the "major trading partners" to cease their "increasing economic collaboration" with the South African Government was adopted by a vote of 73 to 3 (Australia, Portugal, U.K.), with 17 (Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, U.S., Venezuela) abstentions.

The operative paragraph describing the situation in South Africa as a threat to international peace and security calling for mandatory sanctions under chapter VII was adopted by a vote of 70 to 12 (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, U.K., U.S.), with 13 (Argentina, Brazil, China, Colombia, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Japan, Mexico, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Venezuela) abstentions.

The operative paragraph deploring the "political, economic, and military collaboration" of some states with the Government of South Africa was adopted by a vote of 72 to 4 (Australia, Belgium, Portugal, U.K.), with 17 (Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, U.S., Venezuela) abstentions.

Finally the Committee adopted the resolution as a whole by a vote of 78 to 1 (Portugal), with 16 (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Finland, France, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, U.K., U.S.) abstentions.

On December 15, 1965, the General Assembly adopted the resolution in plenary by a vote of 80 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 16 abstentions (the same 16 as in Committee except for the omission of Brazil and the addition of Luxembourg).

In his explanation of vote, the U.S. Representative stated that in the Special Political Committee the United States had voted against the paragraph calling for economic sanctions under chapter



VII because "the United States does not believe that the situation in South Africa, deplorable though it is, constitutes, at this time, a threat to international peace and security within the meaning of chapter VII." Accordingly the United States did not consider a recommendation for coercive action appropriate under, or authorized by, the Charter. Nevertheless, he said, the United States had abstained on the resolution as a whole, first because the United States believed that the policies of *apartheid* present significant dangers to the continent of Africa and the world community, and second because *apartheid* is a policy totally repugnant to the principles on which the United Nations was founded and on which the United States is based. Because of these considerations the United States felt it could not oppose a resolution that, despite certain provisions it could not support, expressed its attitude unequivocally.

A second resolution was introduced in the Special Political Committee on December 3, 1965, by the Nigerian Representative. This resolution, eventually sponsored by 52 states, requested the Secretary-General to establish a U.N. trust fund made up of voluntary contributions from states, organizations, and individuals, to be used for grants to voluntary organizations, governments of host countries of refugees from South Africa, and other appropriate bodies for (1) legal assistance to persons charged under discriminatory and repressive legislation in South Africa; (2) relief for dependents of persons persecuted by the Government of South Africa for acts arising from opposition to the policies of *apartheid*; (3) education of prisoners, their children and other dependents; and (4) relief for refugees from South Africa. The President of the General Assembly was requested to nominate five member states, each of which would appoint a person to serve on a committee of trustees that would decide on the use of funds. The committee of trustees was requested to promote contributions to the fund and coordination among the voluntary organizations concerned with relief and assistance to the victims of the policies of *apartheid*. Finally, the resolution appealed to governments, organizations, and individuals to contribute generously to the trust fund. On December 10 the trust fund resolution was adopted by the Special Political Committee by a vote of 91 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 (Portugal) abstention. The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 15, by a vote of 95 (U.S.) to 1 (South Africa), with 1 (Portugal) abstention.

In his explanation of vote the U.S. Representative said that the United States fully supported the establishment of a U.N. trust fund for the relief of victims of *apartheid* and was prepared to consider a possible contribution. The U.S. Representative expressed the hope that the trustees would insure that programs using the funds would

be closely coordinated with existing programs to prevent duplication of effort and assure maximum effectiveness.

### Status of South African Delegation

When the nine-member Credentials Committee of the 20th General Assembly met on December 17, 1965, the Soviet Representative challenged the credentials of the South African delegation. He argued that the Representatives of the Government of South Africa could not legitimately represent the people of South Africa in the United Nations because the latter were deprived of their most elementary rights and freedoms by the policy of *apartheid*. The Soviet view was supported by Representatives of the Malagasy Republic, Syria, and the United Arab Republic. The U.A.R. Representative, speaking on behalf of these three delegations, formally moved that the Committee "decide not to recognize as valid the credentials of the representatives of the present Government of South Africa," and the Soviet Representative stated that his delegation also wished to cosponsor the motion. It was rejected by a vote of 5 to 4.

Earlier in the discussion, the Representatives of the United States, Australia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Iceland had expressed their governments' abhorrence of the policy of *apartheid* but had taken the position that this was a quite separate issue from the question of credentials. In their opinion, the Committee should merely examine the credentials to insure that they had been issued by the proper authorities in accordance with the Assembly's Rules of Procedure.

The Credentials Committee adopted its report finding the credentials of all representatives in order by a vote of 8 to 0, with 1 (U.S.S.R.) abstention. The Representatives of the United Arab Republic and the U.S.S.R. made their votes subject to the reservations they had expressed with respect to the credentials of the Representatives of South Africa and the Republic of China (see page 128).

When the report of the Credentials Committee was considered in plenary on December 21, the Assembly had before it an amendment, cosponsored by 35 African states, to add to the draft resolution approving the Committee's report an amendment whereby the Assembly would decide "to take no decision on the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of South Africa." This amendment was adopted by a vote of 53 to 42 (Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malta, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, Portugal,

South Africa, Spain, Sweden, U.K., U.S., Uruguay, Venezuela), with 9 (Burma, Haiti, Iran, Jamaica, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Nepal, Thailand) abstentions.

## *Tibet*

The question of Tibet first came before the United Nations in 1950 when the Dalai Lama informed the General Assembly and the Secretary-General of the invasion of his country by the Communist Chinese. The United Nations took no action at that time. The question next arose during the 14th General Assembly after the Dalai Lama on September 9, 1959, addressed an appeal to the Secretary-General requesting U.N. intervention, stating that the Tibetan people were being subjected to crimes against humanity and religion. The Assembly adopted a resolution expressing its grave concern at the reported violation of the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and calling for respect for these rights and for their distinctive religious and cultural life. A further resolution was adopted in 1961 at the 16th General Assembly calling for the "cessation of practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedoms, including their right to self-determination." The question of Tibet was again placed on the agenda in 1964 at the request of El Salvador, Nicaragua, and the Philippines, but, like most other items on the agenda, was not discussed because of the special circumstances pertaining at the 19th session.

## 20th General Assembly Consideration

In a letter of June 7, 1965, from the Philippine Representative, the same three governments requested consideration of the item at the 20th General Assembly. On September 22 in the Assembly's General Committee, the Soviet Representative objected to inscription of the item, asserting that Tibet was an integral part of Communist China and that discussion of the item would therefore constitute interference in that country's domestic affairs. The Philippine Representative, however, stated that the Tibetan question was one of human rights, including the right of self-determination, and therefore a matter of direct concern to the General Assembly.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yost, pointed out that the Tibetan people—despite two previous and strong appeals from the Assembly—continued to be deprived of fundamental rights and freedoms and of their collective right to exist as an ethnic, social, cultural, and religious entity. Urging its inclusion on the agenda, he noted that the Assembly had not hesitated to deal with violations



of human rights in other states, and said that it should not abdicate its responsibility in the case of Tibet.

At the end of the debate the General Committee inscribed the item by a vote of 10 (U.S.) to 3, with 11 abstentions. On September 24, after considerable debate, the Assembly by a vote of 41 (U.S.) to 26, with 46 abstentions, accepted the General Committee's recommendation.

Consideration of this item began in plenary session on December 14. El Salvador, Ireland, Malaysia, Malta, Nicaragua, the Philippines, and Thailand submitted a draft resolution which, after reaffirming previous resolutions on Tibet, made five points: it deplored the continued violation of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet; reaffirmed that respect for the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order; declared that the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Tibet and the suppression of the distinctive cultural and religious life of the Tibetan people increase international tension and embitter relations between peoples; solemnly renewed the call for the cessation of all practices that deprive the Tibetan people of the human rights and fundamental freedoms which they have always enjoyed; and appealed to all states to use their best endeavors to achieve the purposes of the draft resolution.

### U.S. Position

On December 17 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, spoke in support of the seven-power draft resolution. He expressed regret that the plight of the Tibetan people was as tragic in 1965 as in 1959 and 1961 when the Assembly had last debated the issue. "The Tibetan people," he said, "are still being driven into forced labor and concentration camps, and are faced with the extinction of their distinctive culture and way of life." He stressed the obligations and responsibilities of the United Nations to concern itself with the question of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Tibetan people. In reply to those who considered the question of Tibet "provocative" and thought that discussion of the issue might offend the Communist Chinese, he said:

. . . The question of Tibet is, indeed, provocative; but the provocation lies not in the words or actions of this Assembly, it lies in the treatment to which the Tibetan people are being subjected by Communist China. Our concern must be with the very real and serious offences being committed against the people of Tibet, not with any political offence which may be felt by those responsible.

He recalled that the 1960 report of the Legal Enquiry Committee of the International Commission of Jurists had concluded that the

Communist Chinese had committed "acts of genocide" and had violated in Tibet 16 articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. He noted that the International Commission of Jurists had published an additional report in December 1964 which again stated that the Tibetan people had been deprived of all social, civic, economic, and private rights and liberties and that all authority was in the hands of the Communist Chinese.

Referring to Peiping's recent decree establishing the so-called "Tibet Autonomous Region," he characterized the move as designed "purely and simply to camouflage the systematic eradication of Tibetan culture." He continued:

Therefore, the word "autonomy" is a meaningless word. There is no freedom of action for the Tibetan, no freedom to reject the directives from Peiping, no freedom from the armed oppression of Chinese Communist military forces.

In concluding his statement, the U.S. Representative stressed the United States firm support of the seven-power draft resolution and stated that the Assembly had a solemn duty to record once again its disapproval of the actions taken against the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Tibetan people.

### Assembly Action

The General Assembly adopted the seven-power draft resolution on December 18, 1965, by a vote of 43 to 26, with 22 abstentions. Those voting in favor were Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Malaysia, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Togo, U.K., U.S., Upper Volta, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Against were Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sudan, Syria, Tanzania, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., U.A.R., and Yugoslavia. Those abstaining were Afghanistan, Austria, Ceylon, Dahomey, Denmark, Finland, France, Ghana, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kuwait, Lebanon, Maldive Islands, Mexico, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sweden, and Tunisia.

### *Viet-Nam*

Although the Viet-Nam conflict was not formally considered by the General Assembly or the Security Council during 1965, the issue

figured prominently in many discussions on other topics in the United Nations. In addition, the Permanent Observer of the Republic of Viet-Nam at the United Nations during the year sent a series of letters to the Security Council in which he called attention in detail to the aggression against his country from North Viet-Nam.

The United States continued its efforts to enlist the active support of the United Nations, its members, and its officials in the search for a peaceful settlement in Viet-Nam.

#### **U.S. Letter of February 7**

Early in February, Viet Cong terrorists launched heavy attacks against a number of Vietnamese and American installations in South Viet-Nam, including residential quarters. On February 7 the U.S. Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, wrote to the President of the Security Council informing him of these attacks and of the prompt defensive air action which the Governments of the United States and the Republic of Viet-Nam had agreed was necessary against certain military facilities in the southern portion of North Viet-Nam.

The U.S. letter recalled that the Republic of Viet-Nam and, at its request, the United States and other governments were committed to resist the systematic aggression carried on by North Viet-Nam for more than 6 years across a frontier set by international agreement. The letter continued:

Since reinforcement of the Viet Cong by infiltrators from North Viet-Nam is essential to this continuing aggression, counter-measures to arrest such reinforcement from the outside are a justified measure of self-defense.

After expressing deep regret that Hanoi explicitly denied the right of the Security Council to examine the Vietnamese problem, the U.S. Representative concluded by stating:

. . . our mission in Southeast Asia is peace and . . . our purpose is to ensure respect for the peace settlement to which all concerned are committed.

We therefore reserve the right to bring this matter to the Security Council if the situation warrants it.

#### **U.S. Letter of February 27**

Three weeks later, on February 27, the U.S. Representative transmitted to the Security Council a special U.S. report entitled "Aggression From the North, The Record of North Viet-Nam's Campaign To Conquer South Viet-Nam." In his covering letter he noted that peace could be restored quickly to Viet-Nam by prompt and assured cessation of Hanoi's aggression against the Republic of Viet-Nam. "In that event," he said, "my Government—as it has said many



times before—would be happy to withdraw its military forces from the Republic of Viet-Nam and turn promptly to an international effort to assist the economic and social development of Southeast Asia.”

### U.S. Letter of April 9

On April 9 the U.S. Representative sent to the President of the Security Council the text of President Johnson's Johns Hopkins University address of 2 days before, in which the President had called for “unconditional discussions” to settle the Vietnamese conflict. (For a discussion of the economic aspects of the President's speech, see page 162.) In transmitting the statement, the U.S. Representative pointed to “the legitimate interests of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and security in Southeast Asia” and expressed confidence that “those countries sincerely interested in peace and prosperity in Southeast Asia will give this statement their most sympathetic and careful consideration.”

### President Johnson's San Francisco Address

Speaking in San Francisco on June 25, at a session to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the signing of the U.N. Charter, President Johnson discussed the dangers to peace in Southeast Asia and stated:

. . . today I put to this world assembly the facts of aggression, the right of a people to be free from attack, the interest of every member in safety against molestation, the duty of this organization to reduce the dangers to peace, and the unhesitating readiness of the United States of America to find a peaceful solution.

I now call upon this gathering of the nations of the world to use all their influence, individually and collectively, to bring to the tables those who seem determined to make war. We will support your efforts, as we will support effective action by any agent or agency of these United Nations.

### President's Letter to the Secretary-General

During 1965 the Secretary-General continued his efforts through quiet diplomacy to bring about discussions which might lead to a peaceful solution. The U.S. Government made clear its desire to cooperate fully.

At a press conference on July 28, President Johnson reaffirmed this position and renewed the appeal he had made in San Francisco, stating, “If the United Nations and its officials or any one of its 114 members can by deed or word, private initiative or public action, bring us nearer an honorable peace, then they will have the support and the gratitude of the United States of America.” He announced that Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, appointed to succeed Ambassador Stevenson on

the latter's death, would deliver to the Secretary-General a Presidential letter requesting that "all of the resources, energy, and immense prestige of the United Nations be employed to find ways to halt aggression and to bring peace in Viet-Nam."

In his letter, also dated July 28, the President expressed his appreciation of the Secretary-General's efforts to find some way to move the Viet-Nam dispute from the battlefield to the negotiating table. He reiterated that the United States was prepared to enter into negotiations for peaceful settlement without conditions. He stated that Ambassador Goldberg had been instructed to maintain close contact with the Secretary-General on Viet-Nam and expressed the hope that the Secretary-General would communicate to the United States "any helpful suggestions that may occur to you that can strengthen our common search for the road to peace in Southeast Asia."

The Secretary-General replied the following day, assuring President Johnson that he looked forward to continuous mutual consultation on the Viet-Nam problem and that he would continue his efforts, through all means at his disposal, to reach a peaceful settlement.

### U.S. Letter of July 30

On July 30, in his first letter to the President of the Security Council, Ambassador Goldberg reaffirmed the willingness of the United States to enter into negotiations for a peaceful settlement without preconditions. He summarized the many U.S. efforts in recent years to open a path to peaceful settlement in Southeast Asia and noted that none of these efforts had yet met with a favorable response. He wished, he said, to reemphasize to the members of the Council the following points:

*First*, that the United States will continue to provide, in whatever measure and for whatever period is necessary, assistance to the people of the Republic of Viet-Nam in defending their independence, their sovereignty, and their right to choose their own government and make their own decisions.

*Second*, the United States will continue to assist in the economic and social advancement of Southeast Asia, under the leadership of Asian countries and the United Nations, and will continue to explore all additional possibilities, especially in connection with the great projects taking shape in the Lower Mekong Basin.

*Third*, the United States will continue to explore, independently and in conjunction with others, all possible routes to an honorable and durable peace in Southeast Asia.

*Fourth*, the United States stands ready, as it has in the past, to collaborate unconditionally with Members of the Security Council in the search for an acceptable formula to restore peace and security to that area of the world.

In conclusion, he wrote, "It is the hope of my government that the Members of the Security Council will somehow find the means to

respond effectively to the challenge raised by the present state of affairs in Southeast Asia.”

### 20th General Assembly Discussion

Although the agenda of the 20th General Assembly did not include an item on Viet-Nam, the subject figured prominently in the general debate.

The U.S. Representative, in his general debate address on September 23, outlined U.S. goals in South Viet-Nam in the following terms:

We seek only to insure the independence of South Viet-Nam, with freedom from attack and the opportunity for its people to determine their own future. We seek no territory for ourselves, no preferential position, no permanent military presence. We stand ready to withdraw our forces when Communist aggression has ended and South Viet-Nam is left alone to determine its own destiny in its own way by principles of self-determination.

And, above all, we seek a peaceful solution. We have repeatedly stated our willingness to enter into unconditional discussions—and I reaffirm that willingness here today.

On two other occasions in the general debate, in exercise of his right of reply, the U.S. Representative spoke on the U.S. position in Viet-Nam. On October 1 he appealed to the members of the United Nations to use all their “ingenuity, wisdom, and influence” to join in the search for peace. On October 7 he asked:

. . . who has rejected the role of the United Nations? The record is crystal clear. It is Red China which, with contempt and with insult, has rejected any role for the United Nations in this dispute. It is Hanoi which has denied the competence of the United Nations in this area. It is not the United States which is unwilling to bring this to the conference table.

We have said again and again: Let that aggression cease and there will be an appropriate response from the United States; but we shall continue to meet aggression when it is perpetrated upon innocent people who have asked us for assistance. What is at stake here is a fundamental principle of the charter: the right of the people of South Viet-Nam to carry on their own destiny in their own way, free from force and violence, and to determine their own destiny by the principle of self-determination.

### U.S. Peace Offensive

As 1965 drew to a close, the United States undertook a diplomatic offensive, unprecedented in scope and intensity, to find a peaceful solution in Viet-Nam. In this connection the American and Vietnamese Governments suspended the bombing of military targets in North Viet-Nam.



## GENERAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS

### *Article 19 Controversy*

After several postponements, the 19th General Assembly opened on December 1, 1964. At that time the persistent refusal by the Soviet Union to pay its assessments for the Congo and Middle East peacekeeping operations had built up its arrearages to a point (2 full years) where Charter sanctions became applicable. The Assembly thus faced the question of applying article 19—the loss of the right to vote in the General Assembly—to a big power. Six other Eastern European members were also in arrears beyond the article 19 limit. A showdown was put off by an agreement not to vote, and to take the minimum action necessary on a no-objection basis. This arrangement resulted from informal proposals that were put forth that the financial crisis should be solved through voluntary contributions and Soviet intimations that a “substantial” contribution would be forthcoming if the question of applicability of article 19 was not raised. (See *U.S. Participation in the UN, 1964*, page 7.)

### **Resumed 19th General Assembly**

Efforts during the Christmas and New Year recess to reach a solution through adequate “voluntary contributions” had made no headway by the time the General Assembly reconvened on January 18. The problem was aggravated by the fact that by calendar year 1965 a second permanent member of the Security Council—France—and 8 additional members became subject to article 19, bringing the total number of such members to 16.

On January 18 the Secretary-General reported to the Assembly on the United Nations financial position, observing that “the problem is serious and merits the urgent attention and concern of its membership.” He indicated that \$136 million of assessed contributions remained outstanding, the Working Capital Fund was virtually depleted, the United Nations owed approximately \$45 million for goods and services previously provided—in addition to \$154.8 million of unamortized principal on outstanding U.N. bonds. The Organization’s net cash resources amounted to little more than that required to maintain minimum bank balances for the purpose of meeting day-to-day expenditures. The Secretary-General concluded:

. . . By one expedient or another, the Organization has so far managed to meet its obligations and thus to maintain its financial integrity. But experience has shown . . . that such a policy cannot much longer endure if the United Nations itself is to endure as a dynamic and effective instrument of international action.

He appealed to all delegations, "as a matter of urgency, to cooperate in devising ways and means of remedying this situation."

The President of the General Assembly, Ambassador Alex Quaison-Sackey of Ghana, then summarized his consultations with members and regional groups, saying:

. . . it seems to me that there is a consensus on three main points:

First, the United Nations should be strengthened both financially and morally. For this purpose it is essential that voluntary contributions should be made by the Member Governments, with the highly developed countries making substantial contributions. . . .

Secondly, the work of the General Assembly should be conducted under normal procedures as soon as possible.

Thirdly, every effort should be made to avoid a confrontation on the issue of Article 19. . . .

He urged that "initiatives be taken to enable the Assembly to adopt that consensus as a decision."

In informal consultations, the Soviet Union had made clear that it could subscribe to a resolution based on the President's statement only if article 19 were specifically set aside.

The Soviet delegation indicated publicly that it had "accepted" an "Afro-Asian" proposal (never formally tabled but circulated on December 30, 1964) which paralleled the Quaison-Sackey formula except that its key provision could be read as setting aside an article of the Charter:

" . . . to avoid a confrontation at the present session, the *question of the applicability of Article 19 would not be raised.*" (Emphasis added.)

The U.S. position was that the Assembly's acceptance of any such formula, unless accompanied by assurances of sufficient payments by the defaulting members to permit the reduction of their arrears below the article 19 limit, would represent *de facto* abnegation of the Assembly's key authority under the Charter, the power to assess members for expenses of the Organization, and was bound to have a damaging effect on the Organization's integrity and capacity to act.

On January 26, the final day of the general debate, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Stevenson, identified the issue as "whether or not we intend to preserve the effective capacity of this organization to keep the peace. It is whether to continue the difficult but practical and hopeful process of realizing in action the potential of the Charter for growth through collective responsibility, or to turn toward a weaker concept and a different system."

He emphasized to the General Assembly membership that "it is your power of assessment which is being challenged," and "it is your power to keep or to abandon."

Turning to the substance, he continued:

We cannot have two rules for paying assessments for the expenses of the Organization: one rule for most of the members and another rule for a few. If this assembly should ignore the Charter with respect to some of its members, it will be in no position to enforce the Charter impartially as to others, with all the consequences which will follow with respect to the mandatory or voluntary character of assessments.

On February 1 the Secretary-General suggested either enlargement of the mandate of the Assembly's Working Group of 21, which had been examining procedures for sharing costs of future peacekeeping operations involving heavy expenditures, or establishment of a new body to undertake a comprehensive review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations, including financing. He suggested that such a group "be requested to report to the General Assembly as soon as it had been able to reach a substantial measure of agreement on the points at issue."

When the Assembly met a week later on February 8, it was apparent that the Soviet Union would not agree to the formula for a negotiated solution of the constitutional and financial crisis acceptable to the majority of the membership unless article 19 were specifically set aside. The Secretary-General then suggested that the General Assembly recess pending "a substantial measure of agreement on the points at issue" by the proposed peacekeeping review committee, once the Assembly had agreed on the composition of such a committee and had disposed of several important items of business by consensus procedure. Putting aside the questions of interim financial arrangements for 1965 and the filling of one vacancy on the Economic and Social Council, the General Assembly accordingly disposed of important items by consensus procedure at a meeting of the Assembly on February 10.

The Assembly next reconvened February 16 expecting to recess for several months after approving interim spending authority to allow the Secretary-General to continue the Organization's operations pending normal action on the regular budget for 1965, which would be deferred until fall. The Albanian Representative took the floor at once, however, to request formally "that the General Assembly immediately embark upon its normal work in accordance with the Charter and the rules of procedure." His proposal, he said, "must be considered as having priority over any other question" and he called for "the General Assembly to take a decision immediately on this matter by a roll-call vote." The purpose of the intervention was clear. Albania wished to frustrate the will of the general membership, to cause additional harassment for the United Nations, and at the same time, to embarrass the Soviets for going along with the consensus. Despite strong urging by the Assembly President and several members,



the Albanian Representative refused to withdraw his request. He also objected when the Representative of Guinea moved adjournment to permit delegations to seek instructions. The Assembly President then utilized his own authority to adjourn the meeting until February 18.

When the Assembly reconvened, the President recapitulated the Assembly's various decisions during its 19th session to follow a consensus procedure, noted that the Assembly now had before it an Albanian proposal that it "reconsider and reverse the no-vote decision," and concluded "that there is a consensus against reconsidering that decision, and it can be so decided, and in fact, it is so decided."

The Albanian Representative immediately challenged the President's ruling and asked that his challenge be put to a rollcall vote. President Quaison-Sackey then announced to the Assembly:

I believe that a procedural vote cannot be avoided at this time. Since the vote is in fact solely in connexion with the question of whether or not the General Assembly should continue its further work, as heretofore, without voting, I believe that I can say that the vote can proceed on the basis of full reservations as to all the legal issues and without prejudice to the respective positions of Member States.

The appeal against the ruling of the President was rejected by 97 (U.S., U.S.S.R.) to 2 (Albania, Mauritania), with 13 abstentions. The Representatives of Cambodia and Saudi Arabia did not participate. Prior to the vote, the U.S. Representative stated:

Inasmuch as the procedural vote for which the President has called on his ruling deals only with the issue of whether the Assembly should or should not continue to proceed on a nonvoting basis, and not with the substantive business of the Assembly, the United States considers that such a vote would not involve or prejudice the question of the applicability of article 19 and that the question can in no way be affected by it.

Accordingly, Mr. President, so that the overwhelming majority may not be frustrated by one member and that the Assembly may complete the substantive business currently before it on a consensus basis, the United States will raise no objection to the procedural vote on the challenge to your ruling.

Following explanations of vote by several delegations, the General Assembly completed its business and recessed until September 1, 1965.

### **Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (Committee of 33)**

On February 18 the General Assembly adopted a resolution which delegated to a Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (Committee of 33) the double task of (1) attempting to overcome the financial difficulties of the organization resulting from unpaid past peacekeeping assessments, and (2) examining all aspects of future peacekeeping operations, including their authorization and financing, to see whether equitable and practical ground rules could be developed.

The Committee, which was to be established by the President of the Assembly with the collaboration of the Secretary-General, was requested to report no later than June 15.

The Committee of 33 held 18 meetings between March 26 and August 31. Its main concern was with the broader question of arrangements for future peacekeeping operations (see page 112). A number of members pointed out, however, that little progress could be made on future arrangements until a solution was found to the present financial difficulties.

The overwhelming sentiment of the Committee was for a return to normal procedures without a confrontation over article 19. During the early Committee meetings, a number of members urged that a formula be developed around the three points summarized by the President of the Assembly on January 18 (see page 103).

#### ETHIOPIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION

On April 23 the Ethiopian Representative submitted a draft resolution based on the Afro-Asian proposal circulated December 30, 1964, but with a difference in wording that left open the possibility of raising article 19 if no settlement had been reached through voluntary contributions. The key provision in the Ethiopian formula was that members would agree that "in the best interests of the Organization, a confrontation should be avoided on the question of the applicability of article 19."

The Soviet Representative expressly noted in the Committee on April 27 that the Ethiopian text did not include in so many words the key provision of the Afro-Asian plan—that the question of applicability of article 19 should not be raised. Without that provision, he said, it would not be possible to find a solution. The Soviet delegation reiterated this position at subsequent Committee meetings, also stressing that the Soviet Government alone would decide the size and timing of any Soviet contribution.

Speaking for the United States in the Committee on April 29, Ambassador Charles W. Yost observed that while the Ethiopian draft was by no means exactly what the United States would have preferred, the Ethiopian Representative had performed a valuable service by bringing to the fore the urgent need for a solution of the Organization's financial difficulties. As the draft indicated, there was a consensus that "a solution should be found as quickly as possible; that members should put aside their differences in the interests of the organization; and that the organization should be brought to solvency by voluntary contributions." However, in the U.S. view, the reference to article 19 in the draft resolution was out

of place since "the applicability of article 19 is a matter for the Assembly itself and not for this Committee to determine." On June 9 the Ethiopian Representative introduced a revision of his draft giving priority to normalizing the General Assembly's work but otherwise similar to the original draft.

#### MEXICAN DRAFT RESOLUTION

Another approach to a compromise solution was suggested by the Mexican Representative on June 2. He introduced a draft resolution that would have the General Assembly decide *post facto* that the expenses of the United Nations Operation in the Congo (UNOC) and the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) from the beginning should be met through voluntary contributions, in effect repealing the previous General Assembly resolutions which had apportioned expenses for these operations through assessments. Previous contributions to UNOC and UNEF under the General Assembly's assessment resolutions would be counted as "voluntary contributions." Since UNOC and UNEF expenses would no longer be "assessments," article 19 would not come into play since only defaults in assessed contributions count in calculating arrears.

Neither the Ethiopian nor the Mexican proposals gained any substantial support.

#### INTERIM REPORT OF JUNE 15

Since no agreement had been reached on the question either of solvency or of future arrangements by June 15, the Committee adopted an interim report, which defined the limits of the consensus as follows:

The members of the Special Committee agreed that the United Nations should be strengthened through a co-operative effort and that the General Assembly, when it reconvenes, must conduct its work according to the normal procedure established by its rules of procedure.

The report was adopted unanimously but did not provide any ground for hope that a settlement could be reached either on the terms under which the General Assembly would return to normalcy, or on the terms of a settlement for dealing with the article 19 question. Nor did it offer any hope that oft-promised voluntary contributions to restore the United Nations to solvency would be forthcoming from those who had refused to pay their assessed shares for the UNOC and UNEF accounts.

#### U.S. STATEMENT OF AUGUST 16

Informal consultations during the summer were unproductive. The members were clearly unwilling to face another General Assembly



session in which the Assembly would be unable to transact business normally and yet the majority of the members were also unwilling to force a showdown on the constitutional issue; rightly or wrongly they feared that application of article 19 to the U.S.S.R. and France might lead to the break-up of the United Nations.

Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg had been sworn in on July 26 as successor to the late Ambassador Stevenson as U.S. Representative to the United Nations.

On August 16 he told the Committee that "the United States adheres to the position that article 19 is applicable in the present circumstances," but said, "the United States recognizes, as it simply must, that the General Assembly is not prepared to apply article 19 in the present situation and that the consensus of the membership is that the Assembly should proceed normally." Declaring that the United States would "not seek to frustrate that consensus, since it is not in the world interest to have the work of the General Assembly immobilized in these troubled days," he then stated:

At the same time, we must make it crystal clear that if any member can insist on making an exception to the principle of collective financial responsibility with respect to certain activities of the organization, the United States reserves the same option to make exceptions if, in our view, strong and compelling reasons exist for doing so. There can be no double standard among the members of the organization.

In conclusion he said:

We look forward nonetheless to the not too distant day when the entire membership will resume its full range of collective responsibility for maintaining world peace. In the meantime, it is all the more important for the membership, though unready to apply article 19, to solve the United Nations financial problems and to continue to support in practice the sound principle of collective financial responsibility, and to adopt practical and equitable means by which those willing to share the responsibility for peace can act in concert to maintain and strengthen the indispensable peacekeeping capacity of the United Nations.

The U.S. statement broke the logjam, and hopefully pointed to the possibility of renewed efforts at the 20th General Assembly to deal with two key problems confronting the United Nations: its need to overcome its financial difficulties; and its need to agree on the rules for future peacekeeping operations, including their financing.

A number of delegations were concerned that the understanding not to press for applying article 19 in the present situation should not create a precedent undermining the validity of article 19. The Canadian Representative on August 20 and the Mexican Representative on August 25 emphasized their understanding that the agreement not to enforce article 19 was applicable only to the Congo and Middle East debts.

However, as the U.S. Representative had noted on August 16, in the U.S. view, in not applying article 19, "no one can or should overlook the fact that the exercise of important prerogatives of the Assembly granted to it under the Charter is being impaired."

#### CONSENSUS STATEMENT OF AUGUST 31

At the conclusion of the 18th meeting of the Committee on August 31, Chairman Quaison-Sackey made the following statement:

In the light of the statements made in the Committee, without prejudice to the positions taken therein and on the basis of paragraph 11 of the Committee's report of 15 June, I take it that the consensus is:

(a) That the General Assembly will carry on its work normally in accordance with its rules of procedure;

(b) That the question of the applicability of Article 19 of the Charter will not be raised with regard to the United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Operation in the Congo;

(c) That the financial difficulties of the Organization should be solved through voluntary contributions by Member States, with the highly developed countries making substantial contributions.

The 19th General Assembly reconvened on September 1 for one day and endorsed his consensus statement without objection. The President noted that the work of the Committee remained unfinished, and the General Assembly adopted his suggestion that "the modalities for the continuance of the work should be decided upon at the twentieth session."

The U.S. Representative recalled his statement before the Committee of 33 on August 16 regarding the article 19 issue that the United States had been motivated by the realization that every parliamentary body must somehow resolve the issues before it or cease to have any useful existence. The Assembly had determined to do this, and "it is now our hope and conviction that it will get on with the job of helping to build a world of law and reason and peace."

#### Appeal for Voluntary Contributions

In a memorandum dated March 31 submitted to the Committee the Secretary-General had estimated that an amount of \$108.4 million would be needed to (1) permit the organization to meet in full its current obligations (exclusive of the servicing of the U.N. headquarters loan and the U.N. bond issue for which annual repayments are provided in the regular budget); (2) meet additional obligations (other than those relating to the regular budget) that would be incurred at the present time and at such time as the General Assembly may be expected to have decided on assessments in respect of the organization's expenses for the current year; and, (3) restore the Working Capital Fund to the authorized level of \$40 million.

When the Committee adopted its interim report on June 15 and adjourned until August without alleviating the United Nations difficulties, a number of members launched a campaign for voluntary contributions. It was hoped that their example would be followed by others, particularly the delinquent members. In addition, the question of financing the UNEF operation and meeting current expenses was acute since the organization was operating on the basis of an interim resolution which called for advance payments of not less than 80 percent of contributions made during the previous year.

On June 21 the United Kingdom announced a pledge of \$10 million as an unconditional voluntary contribution and Canada made a pledge of \$4 million. Four Scandinavian countries at the same time pledged \$3.78 million (Sweden \$2 million; Denmark \$1 million; Norway \$700,000; Iceland \$80,000). Additional pledges from 16 other countries raised the pledged total to \$20 million by the end of the year. The contributing countries were Finland, Ghana, Greece, Italy, Jamaica, Kuwait, Liberia, Mali, Malta, Nigeria, Sudan, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

With the shelving of the question of the applicability of article 19 it was hoped that the major debtors including the Soviet Union and France would follow the U.K. lead and see their way clear to making the promised contributions. But none was made in 1965.

On August 16 the Soviet delegation told the Committee of 33 that the Soviet Union would not make a voluntary contribution without a firm guarantee that the article 19 question would not be raised. Despite the Committee's "consensus" statement of August 31 that the question of applicability of article 19 would not be raised with respect to UNEF and UNOC, the Soviet Union made no contribution. The French Representative stated in the final session of the Committee of 33 on August 31 that his government had as yet made no commitment to make a voluntary contribution because it considered that the question should be studied in the broader context of the general financial policy of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies.

## 20th General Assembly

The 20th General Assembly did not concern itself either with the question of overcoming the financial difficulties of the United Nations or with a settlement of the article 19 issue as such. Agenda items dealing with the authorization and financing of future peacekeeping (proposed by the Irish delegation) and with the report of the Committee of 33 (proposed by the Secretary-General) were referred to the Special Political Committee. The question of arrears and of meeting the U.N. deficit was touched on by a sizable number of members during the debate on these items and also in the Fifth Committee dis-



cussions of budget estimates. Some members clearly hoped that if the contentious issues regarding authorization and financing of peace-keeping were not pressed, the Soviet Union and other members that had not contributed their assessed shares to UNOC and UNEF expenses might make voluntary contributions. Many assumed, erroneously, that the Soviet Union and France would announce their contributions during the session, once it became clear that the consensus adopted by the 19th General Assembly on September 1 was being respected. The Assembly adjourned, however, without any word on these hoped-for contributions.

As foreshadowed by its Representative in the Committee of 33 on August 31, France proposed in the Fifth Committee that an examination of the financial situation of the United Nations and of budgetary problems of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies be entrusted to an *ad hoc* committee. The resolution establishing such a committee was adopted by the General Assembly on December 13 (see page 343).

In discussing the French proposal, Ambassador Goldberg noted in the Fifth Committee on November 22 that the consensus adopted by the General Assembly on September 1 contained three parts. The first two parts called for the General Assembly to carry on its work normally, and agreed that the question of the applicability of article 19 of the Charter would not be raised with regard to the UNEF and UNOC operations. These parts had been respected. However, he continued:

. . . with a very few exceptions there has been a thunderous silence on the third part of the consensus—that part which provided that the financial difficulties of the Organization should be solved through voluntary contributions by Member States.

It is fully as important that this part of the consensus be carried out, as that the first two parts should be, for, until this is done, the financial difficulties of this Organization will remain critical. As Congressman Frelinghuysen stated . . . before this Committee, the United States has paid its share—and considerably more—of all United Nations expenses ever since this Organization was established. We have contributed almost two and a half billion dollars to United Nations Organizations in the last twenty years. We are entitled to demand—as indeed are all Members of this Organization who have met their obligations—that United Nations Members as a whole face up to the necessity of meeting the United Nations' existing obligations before the end of this session. The United States has done its best. Now it is up to others to assume their share of the burden.

At year's end, hope for progress toward U.N. solvency centered on the work of the committee of 14 experts which was scheduled to convene early in 1966 to examine the U.N. financial situation and the budgetary problems of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

## *Future Peacekeeping Operations*

No conclusions were reached by the Committee of 33 on future peacekeeping arrangements, but positions were clarified on key issues, particularly on the respective roles of the General Assembly and the Security Council in the initiation of peacekeeping and on criteria for equitable and practical methods of financing.

### Committee of 33 Consideration

#### AREAS OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT

Although there was general recognition that the Security Council had primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security under article 24 of the Charter, differences existed on the scope of the General Assembly's role in this field. It was generally agreed that the Assembly could not undertake "enforcement action," but the overwhelming majority considered that the Assembly had responsibilities in the areas of "peacekeeping," and the definition of "peacekeeping" occupied the Committee for a number of meetings.

The Swedish Representative on April 23 defined peacekeeping as encompassing "operations that were essentially voluntary, in that they could only be undertaken at the request of, or at least with the consent of, the country where they were to take place," and which "did not place any obligation on Member States in regard to personnel, equipment or logistics." Peacekeeping functions, he said, included observation missions along a frontier, supervision of a truce or an armistice, missions of mediation or conciliation, or assistance to a country to maintain law and order in conditions in which international peace might otherwise be disturbed.

Another view was expressed by the French Representative. He contended on May 17 that the competence of the General Assembly to deal with maintenance of peace and security was limited to pacific settlement under chapter VI of the Charter, not involving the use of force. Article 11(2) of the Charter provides *inter alia* that any question relating to the maintenance of international peace and security "on which action is necessary, shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion." In the French view, action covered by article 11(2) includes not only the measures provided for in chapter VII of the Charter concerning enforcement action, "but also all measures the purpose of which is the establishment of a force, military or otherwise, charged with the task of intervening against a State or inside a State, even where the latter consents and where the effective use of arms is theoretically limited to restricted or exceptional circumstances." Operations for

the purpose of observation, supervision or inquiry, even if the participants in them were military personnel, the French Representative said, could be authorized by the General Assembly, provided they were not constituted into units under military command and were not responsible for their own security, which was a matter for local forces.

On May 25 the Soviet Representative claimed that the Security Council had sole power, under the Charter, to decide all questions concerned with taking action for the maintenance of international peace and security, which included operations using United Nations armed forces. The Security Council's competence, he insisted, "included the taking of decisions on all questions dealing with the creation of United Nations armed forces, the determination of their tasks, the membership and number of such forces, the command of the operations, the structure of the command, the length of the forces' stay in the area of operations, and the financing of the expenses involved."

He denied that the U.S.S.R. considered that the General Assembly had no responsibility for keeping the peace. He said that, under article 11, the Assembly was empowered to discuss questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security and to make recommendations, but any question on which action was necessary should be referred to the Security Council by the Assembly. If the Council was unable to take a decision, "there was nothing to prevent the General Assembly from reconsidering the question and making new recommendations." The Soviet Representative did not, however, explain what type of recommendations he considered appropriate; what would happen to these recommendations in the Security Council; or what effect he thought a General Assembly recommendation to member states might have. Nevertheless this idea was included in the guidelines later suggested by the Secretary-General and discussed below.

Various suggestions were advanced for financing that would reflect collective responsibility of all members and would, in the view of the sponsors, result in equitable apportionment. Members of the Committee from Latin America, Asia, and Africa recalled that in June 1963 the Fourth Special Session of the General Assembly had adopted a resolution containing general principles to serve as guidelines for sharing costs of future peacekeeping operations involving heavy expenditures. These principles were that the financing of peacekeeping is the collective responsibility of all members; that account should be taken of relative capacities to contribute to costly operations; that voluntary contributions should be encouraged; that the special responsibilities of the permanent members of the Security Council for peace and security should be borne in mind in connection



with contributions; and, where circumstances warrant, special consideration should be given to victims of events leading to peacekeeping operations. A key concern of the Asian, African, and Latin American members was the formulation of a special scale of apportionment under which richer countries would contribute proportionately more than they did to the U.N. regular budget.

#### U.S. POSITION

On April 22 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yost, noted that the United States had consistently shared the views of the vast majority of member states on arrangements that should govern U.N. peacekeeping. Summarizing the principles the United States supported, he said:

First, the Charter specifically gives the Security Council "primary" responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The authority of the Security Council should indeed be primary in this field and the Security Council should be looked to as the principal organ of the United Nations for this purpose. . . .

Second, the Charter specifically does not give the Security Council "exclusive" responsibility over peace and security, nor do we believe it should do so. The exclusive power given the Security Council by the Charter in this field is to "decide" on measures—commonly called enforcement actions—for the maintenance of international peace and security, decisions which are binding on member states. . . .

The General Assembly under the Charter otherwise has always had, and should continue to have, full authority to make recommendations with respect to the maintenance of peace and security including recommendations for the initiation of United Nations peacekeeping operations. . . .

Third, we believe that, in the interests of the organization, the expenses of United Nations peacekeeping operations should be the collective financial responsibility of the entire membership. . . .

Fourth and finally, only the General Assembly has under the Charter the power to apportion the expenses of peacekeeping operations among member states.

The U.S. Representative referred to a suggestion that when the General Assembly apportions expenses of larger peacekeeping operations in the future, it should "take into account any strong political objections to such operations which had been voiced by a permanent member of the Security Council." While the United States preferred full collective financial responsibility, if countries felt that a modification of this sort was necessary, the United States would be willing to consider it.

He recalled that on September 14, 1964, the United States had submitted to the Working Group of 21 a paper detailing the U.S. views on future arrangements for U.N. peacekeeping operations. That paper and the proposals it contained—including the proposal

for a special finance committee with appropriate representation that would recommend to the General Assembly methods for financing a particular peacekeeping operation—remained valid, he said, and the paper was distributed again as a document of the Committee of 33. (For a summary of these proposals, see *U.S. Participation in the UN, 1964*, pages 4–5.)

U.S. views on what “peacekeeping” means were further set forth in the Committee on June 15 by Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton. He stated that there was a clear distinction between the types of peacekeeping operations carried out by the United Nations to date and “enforcement actions” contemplated by the Charter. There are many preventive or provisional measures that do not constitute enforcement action.

Such non-enforcement measures taken in compliance with Chapter VII of the Charter lie within the area where the Security Council has primary responsibility but where the General Assembly has exercised residual responsibility in the past. We believe that in the best interests of encouraging the development of a world of peace and order, the General Assembly should continue to exercise its recommendatory authority in this area. To contend that it has no such authority, and that the Security Council has a monopoly means that any single permanent member of the Security Council could block any action or measure to help in maintaining the peace or to prevent the development of a situation which could threaten the peace.

#### SUGGESTED GUIDELINES

On May 31 the U.N. Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly submitted to the Committee of 33 a report summarizing the views and suggestions regarding future peacekeeping made both during informal consultations and the formal meetings of the Committee. The report observed that the necessity for developing and strengthening the United Nations as an effective instrument for the preservation and maintenance of international peace and security was an accepted fact. Problems had arisen because the Organization had been called upon to deal with situations in a manner not explicitly covered in the Charter. Situations involving the restoration or maintenance of international peace and security varied so considerably that it would be very difficult to rewrite the Charter to include clear and precise provisions for dealing with every given situation to the satisfaction of all members.

The report concluded, however, that it would seem appropriate and advisable for the Committee of 33 to agree on certain guidelines within the terms of the Charter which could apply to future peacekeeping operations. The following suggested guidelines were set forth in the report:

- (1) U.N. members have conferred on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

(2) The General Assembly also bears its share of responsibility in maintaining international peace and security under the Charter.

(3) The functions and powers of the Security Council and of the General Assembly should be understood as complementary and not as contradictory.

(4) Any question which involves or may involve peacekeeping operations should be examined first by the Security Council in order that it may take appropriate action as promptly as possible.

(5) If the Security Council is unable for any reason whatever to adopt decisions in the exercise of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, there is nothing to prevent the General Assembly from considering the matter immediately and making appropriate recommendations in conformity with its responsibilities and the relevant provisions of the Charter.

(6) According to article 11(2) of the Charter, the General Assembly may choose to refer the question back to the Security Council with appropriate recommendations.

(7) The financing of peacekeeping operations should be done in conformity with the provisions of the Charter, and the General Assembly and the Security Council should cooperate in this respect.

(8) In each case involving a U.N. peacekeeping operation, various methods of financing may be considered, such as special arrangements among the parties directly involved, voluntary contributions, apportionment among the entire membership of the Organization, and any combination of these various methods.

(9) If the costs of a particular peacekeeping operation involving heavy expenditure are to be apportioned among all the members of the organization, this should be done according to a special scale, due account being taken of: (a) the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council; (b) the degree to which particular states are involved in the events or actions leading to a peacekeeping operation; and (c) the economic capacity of member states, particularly of the developing countries.

(10) No decision on a peacekeeping operation involving heavy expenditures should be taken without advice on the financial implications of the operation.

The Committee of 33 referred these guidelines to all U.N. members for their views. By October 1, 1965, 44 replies had been received, the majority expressing general agreement with the guidelines as a basis for future discussion. The response of the U.S.S.R. and certain East European states reflected their restrictive view of the Assembly's proper scope in peacekeeping. The fifth paragraph of the guidelines had been worded to incorporate language used by the Soviet Representative during the Committee's discussion, that if the Council was



unable to reach a decision the General Assembly could consider the matter and make appropriate recommendations. The Soviet comments on the guidelines did not, however, bear out the hope of some members that the U.S.S.R. was prepared to contemplate a peace-keeping role for the General Assembly beyond discussion.

The U.S. reply, on September 8, 1965, recalled the U.S. views expressed in previous statements and drew attention particularly to the proposals for initiating and financing U.N. peacekeeping operations which the United States had submitted to the Working Group of 21 on September 14, 1964, and to the U.S. statements made in the Committee of 33 on April 22, June 15, and in connection with the article 19 issue on August 16. The U.S. reply of September 8 concluded:

In short, the United States considers that the guidelines contained in paragraph 52 of the report submitted by the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly on 31 May 1965 constitute a useful basis for future consideration of peace-keeping problems in the United Nations. In particular, while recognizing that primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is vested in the Security Council, the United States is of the view that the General Assembly may take appropriate steps to maintain international peace and security, especially when the Security Council is unable to act. As indicated in the statement of the United States Permanent Representative on 16 August . . . the United States believes that the world needs a strengthened—not a weakened—United Nations peace-keeping capacity.

## 20th General Assembly Consideration

The 20th General Assembly combined two items dealing with future peacekeeping operations under the heading of "Comprehensive Review of the Whole Question of Peacekeeping Operations in All Their Aspects" and referred them to its Special Political Committee for consideration. The first was the report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations. The second was an item entitled "The Authorization and Financing of Future Peacekeeping Operations," submitted by the Irish Representative in a letter and explanatory memorandum dated September 10, 1965.

On November 17 Ceylon, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Nepal, the Philippines, and Somalia joined Ireland in submitting a draft resolution embodying its proposal. It provided (1) for amendment of the Assembly's rules of procedure so that a proposal to initiate a peace-keeping operation would require the presence of three-fourths of the members, as evidenced by their participation in the vote, and that in counting "members present and voting" to determine a two-thirds majority for an operation, members recording abstentions would be counted, as well as those voting affirmatively and negatively; and (2) for apportionment, to the extent not otherwise covered by agreed

arrangements, of the net cost of future peacekeeping operations on the basis of 5 percent among the less developed countries, 25 percent among developed countries other than permanent members, and 70 percent among permanent members of the Security Council. Permanent members that did not vote for an operation would be exempt from contributing their share, in which case the remaining permanent members would make up the 70 percent due from the group, except that no member would be assessed for more than 50 percent of the net cost of the operation.

#### DISCUSSION OF IRISH PROPOSAL

Introducing the eight-power draft resolution in the Special Political Committee on November 19, the Irish Representative explained that the original Irish proposal had been changed in two important respects. Operations decided on by the Security Council as well as by the General Assembly would be covered by its provisions, and a limit of 50 percent had been put on the contribution of any one power, any shortfall to be met by the economically developed countries.

The Argentine Representative underlined the importance of the guidelines laid down in the report of the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly and agreed with the Canadian Representative that they might be taken as a basis for the discussion of rules to govern the authorization and financing of future peacekeeping operations. As for the Irish draft, he agreed that it approached the question of financing peacekeeping in a very positive manner. However, in granting the permanent members of the Security Council the privilege of being exempted from paying for operations that they opposed, the draft resolution provided an exception to the principle of collective responsibility with which he could not agree.

On November 23 the British Representative stated that in dealing with peacekeeping crises the United Nations should not have to improvise, with no plan of action, no readily available machinery, and no certainty that the requisite financial resources would be forthcoming. He suggested a peacekeeping fund and welcomed the decision of a number of countries to earmark troops to be available when the United Nations required them. He noted that the United Kingdom had offered to provide logistic support for up to six battalions of U.N. troops. He warmly welcomed the Irish initiative and supported its objectives and principles. Acknowledging the serious differences of opinion, however, he believed further time should be allowed for the views of the membership to be expressed, and to that end suggested that the Irish proposal be submitted to the Committee of 33.

The French Representative recalled the views expressed by France in the Committee of 33 on the limited role of the General Assembly in

peacekeeping and noted that U.N. peacekeeping objectives could not be achieved "by altering the balance established by the Charter under the pretext of new procedures." He opposed amending the General Assembly rules of procedure with regard to initiating peacekeeping as proposed in the Irish draft. With regard to the assessment provisions in the draft resolution, he saw no reason to permit permanent Security Council members to be exempt from paying their share of expenditures which were mandatory on other member states. If the Security Council decided upon an operation, the permanent members must accept their responsibilities in accordance with the method of financing provided for in the resolution. If the Assembly acted within its competence, as the French delegation had defined it on May 17, 1965, all member states should be treated in the same way.

#### U.S. POSITION

Speaking in the Special Political Committee on November 24, Ambassador Goldberg set forth the U.S. position on peacekeeping in general and on the Irish proposal in particular. Noting that U.N. peacekeeping continued despite differences over the principles that should govern its conduct and financing, he cautioned that current practical procedures should not be frustrated by a small minority, "nor should the effectiveness of this organization be determined by the level of support forthcoming from its least cooperative members." Rather, he said, we should seek to crystallize the broad measure of agreement that already exists on initiating, supervising, and financing, and to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to undertake operations with as wide cooperation as possible.

He summarized the principles that the United States believed should govern peacekeeping:

(1) The Security Council has the primary responsibility for initiating and supervising peacekeeping operations—and everything should be done to enable it to exercise that responsibility.

(2) The General Assembly has authority to initiate and supervise peacekeeping operations where the Security Council is unable to act.

(3) The General Assembly has exclusive authority to apportion expenses.

(4) Expenses of U.N. peacekeeping operations should be, so far as possible, the collective financial responsibility of the entire membership. Where full collective financing is not practical, costs should be shared as widely as possible.

(5) Costly peacekeeping operations should be shared among the members in accordance with their capacity to pay. The United States supports the principle of a special scale for such operations.

(6) General Assembly procedures for authorizing, supervising, and



financing peacekeeping operations should provide an appropriate voice for those members that bear the principal responsibility for supporting them. As one way of introducing this concept into peacekeeping arrangements, the United States had suggested, and continued to support, the establishment of a special finance committee of the General Assembly.

(7) The Secretary-General is the appropriate executive agent for managing peacekeeping operations and should be given full support within the scope of his mandate.

The U.S. Representative commended the Irish initiative as a sincere effort to preserve and strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to undertake peacekeeping operations, but added that while accepting the principle of a special scale of apportionment for peacekeeping, the United States had reservations about the specific proposal that one country might have to pay as much as 50 percent of the cost of any operation for which it cast an affirmative vote. Among other problems, the U.S. delegation could not vote, under existing legislation, for an assessment of which the U.S. share would be more than 33⅓ percent.

He recommended that the Committee look beyond the need to improve ground rules for authorizing and financing peacekeeping operations and consider ways to strengthen the United Nations capacity to conduct such operations by better advance planning and preparation. For example, within the Secretariat itself there could be contingency planning on how to meet future emergencies. Based on such planning, the United Nations could identify the personnel, equipment, and services that peacekeeping operations might require.

In addition, the flexible call-up system, under which members earmark units to be available on request, had proved to be the most practical way of providing ready and trained personnel for U.N. peacekeeping and should be strengthened. "Some countries," he said, "may be unable to assume the full burdens of training and equipping units for United Nations service. A program might be organized to train officers and those types of specialized personnel—for example, communications specialists—whose scarcity has hampered previous peacekeeping operations. Aid to earmarking countries could be made available through the United Nations, or through members."

The "crucial ingredient," he said, "is our determination to rely on the United Nations, to use the United Nations, to have confidence in the United Nations' operating capacity."

## ASSEMBLY ACTION

Following discussion in the Special Political Committee, the co-sponsors of the original Irish draft resolution submitted a revised draft on December 6 and a further revision on December 10. The provisions for a special quorum and a special method of counting votes were dropped; the provision for sharing the costs of future peacekeeping operations was retained as an interim arrangement pending the further report of the Committee of 33 and the adoption of a comprehensive arrangement for future financing. The draft resolution, in its new first operative paragraph, invited the Committee of 33, in continuing its work, to consider in particular (1) the criteria that would determine the distinction between peacekeeping operations and enforcement measures within the meaning of chapter VII of the Charter; (2) the question of the authorization of peacekeeping operations and the means of harmonizing the respective responsibilities of the General Assembly and the Security Council in the initiation of measures to maintain or restore international peace and security, including the establishment of a Good Offices Committee; (3) the means of implementing resolutions in the field of peacekeeping, including arrangements for making personnel and facilities available to the United Nations; and, (4) the financing of peacekeeping operations, including the preparation of a special scale for the equitable apportionment of peacekeeping expenditures among the member states, taking into account the principles for sharing costs approved by the Assembly at its special session in 1963 and the proposal for establishing a permanent peace fund.

Despite Soviet efforts to avoid a full-scale debate, most delegations did express themselves during the session. To a large extent, this was due to the Irish proposal. Except for the Soviet bloc and France, most members supported the authority of the General Assembly in the peacekeeping area and the guidelines laid down in the report of the Secretary-General. At the same time, there was a widespread reluctance among delegations from all areas to press for General Assembly action at that time. The British and some Commonwealth delegations hoped that their own initiative in making voluntary contributions to overcome the U.N. deficit would be matched by a Soviet contribution; some delegations feared that reassertion of the General Assembly's authority at this time would have a negative effect on a possible Soviet contribution. Many other delegations among the developing countries thought that more time should be allowed to seek a reconciliation of views.

In the light of this situation, Canada (joined by Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Iran, Italy, Japan, Mauritania, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden, Uganda, and Yugoslavia) on Decem-

ber 7 submitted a draft resolution in the Special Political Committee, the key provision of which simply requested the Committee of 33 to complete as soon as possible the work assigned to it by the 19th General Assembly and to report to the 21st session. Unlike the revised Irish proposal, this resolution contained no reference to substantive points the Committee of 33 should examine. On December 10 the Special Political Committee approved this draft resolution by a vote of 88 (U.S.) to 1 (Albania), with 3 (Burma, Nepal, Zambia) abstentions.

On the same day the Committee considered whether to vote on the revised Irish draft resolution. Speaking against the Irish proposal, the Soviet Representative said that its essential provisions "remained at variance with the Charter," since they were designed to undermine the authority of the Security Council in respect of the maintenance of international peace and security. He reiterated that the Security Council had exclusive control over all aspects of peacekeeping, including financing.

The French Representative also expressed strong reservations about the Irish proposal, particularly the enumeration of the four points in paragraph one to which he objected as setting the "direction for the recommendations which the Special Committee would make to the General Assembly," and thus restricting the scope of the Committee's work.

The U.S. Representative, Congressman Peter Frelinghuysen, said his delegation would vote in favor of the revised Irish draft resolution because it contained a number of constructive elements. The United States would, however, ask for a separate vote and abstain on operative paragraph two, which contained provisions regarding the financing of future peacekeeping operations, since U.S. Representatives in the United Nations were prohibited by law from making any commitment on behalf of their government requiring the apportionment of funds in excess of 33⅓ percent of the U.N. budget; and the provisions of operative paragraph two of the draft resolution would involve a higher percentage.

The Irish Representative said his delegation was not prepared to agree that the General Assembly should concede to one or more of the permanent members of the Security Council the right to decide not only whether a peacekeeping operation should be undertaken but also the manner in which it should be financed. He insisted on obtaining the opinion of the Committee on the draft resolution and later the opinion of the General Assembly on the issues raised in the resolution. The main issue, he said, was whether the members of the Committee felt that the Assembly had the right to recommend a peacekeeping operation when the Security Council failed to agree on



giving assistance to a country. Member states should be allowed to express themselves on this by voting on the resolution.

On December 13 the Special Political Committee voted not to accord priority to the Irish resolution. The vote was 44 to 19, with 34 abstentions. The United States voted against this procedural motion which had the effect of sidetracking the Irish proposal and denying the Committee the opportunity to vote on an important substantive issue. The Committee then adopted by a vote of 54 to 18 (Ireland), with 23 (U.S.) abstentions, a proposal submitted by Tunisia and cosponsored by Denmark, Finland, Italy, Nigeria, Norway, Sudan, Sweden, and Syria, which simply referred the revised Irish draft resolution to the Committee of 33 and invited the Committee to give this draft its careful consideration.

Following a supporting statement by the Foreign Minister of Ireland who expressed the hope that the Committee of 33 would soon address itself to the substance of his proposal, the General Assembly on December 15 adopted the Canadian and compromise resolutions as two related resolutions on peacekeeping. The first, adopted by a vote of 87 (U.S.) to 1, with 5 abstentions, besides requesting the Committee of 33 to complete its work and report to the next Assembly session, transmitted to the Committee the records of debate during the 20th session, invited the Committee to "enjoy the counsel of the President of the General Assembly and the close collaboration of the Secretary-General in its work," and called upon all member states "to make voluntary contributions so that the future may be faced with renewed hope and confidence." The second, adopted by a vote of 93 (U.S.) to 1, with 7 abstentions, referred the Irish proposal to the Special Committee and invited the Committee "to give it its careful consideration."

In summarizing the action of the 20th General Assembly on peacekeeping, Ambassador Goldberg noted at a press conference on December 22, 1965, that the Assembly had made some headway but not as much as the United States would have liked in the area of financing future peacekeeping. Nevertheless, the United States felt that there had been a healthy reexamination of the United Nations peacekeeping role and of collective financial responsibility. The latter was indicated by the decisions on financing the U.N. Emergency Force and on maintaining the costs of the U.N. Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan in the regular budget (see pages 342 and 345).

### Other Peacekeeping Developments

Despite the failure of the 20th General Assembly to reach agreement on future rules, the United Nations successfully carried on four peacekeeping operations during 1965. These included the U.N. Force in

Cyprus; the U.N. Emergency Force in the Middle East; the U.N. Truce Supervisory Organization on the Arab-Israel truce lines; and the U.N. Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan on the Kashmir line.

### *United Nations Membership*

With the admission of The Gambia, Singapore, and the Maldiv Islands on the opening day of the 20th General Assembly, the membership of the United Nations rose to 117. The withdrawal of Indonesia at the beginning of the year had reduced the membership from 115 to 114.

#### **Admission of New Members**

The British self-governing colony of The Gambia became independent in agreement with the United Kingdom on February 18, 1965, and applied that same day for admission to the United Nations. Five months later, on July 26, an agreement between the United Kingdom and the Sultanate of the Maldiv Islands resulted in the full independence of the latter, which then applied for U.N. membership on August 26. In agreement with Malaysia, of which it had been a constituent state, Singapore became a separate independent state on August 9 and applied for U.N. membership on September 2.

#### **THE GAMBIA**

The Security Council met on March 15 to consider the Gambian application and unanimously adopted a resolution, cosponsored by the United Kingdom, Jordan, the Ivory Coast, and Malaysia, recommending The Gambia's admission. The U. K. Representative, speaking on behalf of The Gambia, pointed out that surrounded on three sides by Senegal and extending for some 300 miles from the Atlantic along both sides of the Gambia River, this new state, with an area of 4,000 square miles and a population of 316,000, was "one of the smallest nations in the world." He also noted that The Gambia was not rich in natural resources and that the "road ahead" for an independent Gambia would "not be an easy one." In this connection he recalled that a group of U.N. experts who visited the area in 1963 had recommended "a process of clear association in successive stages" between Senegal and The Gambia and noted that the two countries had already signed agreements on cooperation in defense and foreign affairs, which came into force with The Gambia's independence, and were currently studying joint economic development projects. The U.K. Representative also noted that his government would continue to assist The Gambia financially.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, welcoming The Gambia as a future U.N. member, said:

The Gambia's long history . . . has been one of an industrious people, enriched through its contact with several foreign cultures. The determination and sense of responsibility, the practice in democracy with which the Gambian people have advanced toward independence will now serve her well in her efforts to achieve, despite the inherent difficulties which the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom has outlined, the full measure of her economic and political potential. We are happy to hear that just as the United Kingdom has assisted The Gambia to independence so it will provide economic aid to help the new state toward a stable future.

#### MALDIVE ISLANDS AND SINGAPORE

On September 20, 1965, the Security Council unanimously adopted two resolutions, cosponsored respectively by the United Kingdom, Jordan, and Malaysia and by the United Kingdom, Ivory Coast, Jordan, and Malaysia, recommending the admission to the United Nations of the Maldive Islands and Singapore. The former, lying southwest of Ceylon in the Indian Ocean, consist of some 2,000 coral islands, of which only 220 are populated, and have a total population of approximately 93,000. Singapore, a former British crown colony which in September 1963 joined Malaya, Sarawak, and North Borneo to form Malaysia, has an area of 224.5 square miles including inland waters and adjacent inlets, and a population of over 1¼ million.

Speaking in the Security Council, Ambassador Yost said that the United States was "pleased to join in support" of Singapore's application for U.N. membership. "We have long been impressed," he stated, "by the dynamic and constructive approach of the Singapore Government and people to the problems of social, economic and political development in their island state. We are convinced that the present government will bring the same spirit to the Councils of this organization in their deliberations on matters of concern to all people." He continued:

It is gratifying to us, and, I believe, a tribute to the prestige of the United Nations, that Singapore, in one of its first official acts as an independent state, turned to the United Nations—applying for membership and affirming its dedication to the principles and goals set forth in the United Nations Charter.

Turning to the Maldive Islands, Ambassador Yost said that the United States would also support their application for U.N. membership. He expressed gratification at the "satisfactory outcome" of the independence negotiations between the Maldives and Great Britain, and welcomed the Maldives "into the family of nations." He also expressed confidence that the Maldives Government would "continue to strive for the economic and social betterment of the people living throughout this island group in the same atmosphere



of peace and freedom that has so long characterized the management of its internal affairs." Further, he said:

. . . We are encouraged that, so soon after achieving its independence, the Government of the Maldiv Islands has affirmed by its application for membership its own dedication to the goals and principles upon which the United Nations is founded.

### Problem of Very Small New States

At the end of his statement on the applications of Singapore and the Maldiv Islands, the U.S. Representative said that while supporting the admission of the Maldives "we cannot help but note in this connection the basic problem which will confront the United Nations in the future." He noted that there are "many small entities in the world today moving steadily toward some form of independence" and expressed sympathy with their aspirations, but pointed out that under the U.N. Charter applicants for membership must not only be "willing" to carry out their Charter obligations but also "able" to do so. Recalling that the drafters of the Charter had been mindful of the existence at that time "of some very small states whose resources would simply not permit them to contribute to the work of the organization, however much they might wish to do so," the U.S. Representative said that many of the small emerging entities today are probably in the same position. He urged, therefore, that early and careful consideration be given this problem "in an effort to arrive at some agreed standards—some lower limits—to be applied in the case of future applicants" for U.N. membership. He suggested that the Council might wish to make use of its long inactive Committee on Membership, both to review the general problem and to examine future applications for membership where some of these considerations might be involved. At the same time, he said:

We do not for a moment suggest the exclusion of small, new states from the family of nations. On the contrary, we believe we must develop for them some accommodation that would permit their close association with the United Nations and its broad range of activities. This is another facet of the problem that we think demands early and careful consideration.

Earlier in the Council's discussion, the French Representative had pointed out that the Council's Committee on Membership offered "supplementary possibilities for reflection and judgment, from which it seems essential for us to benefit from now on if we do not wish to see the long range effectiveness of the Organization diminish." That same day the U.N. Secretary-General himself expressed a similar concern. In the introduction to his annual report, dated September

20, 1965, he referred to the "recent phenomenon of the emergence of exceptionally small new States" and said:

Their limited size and resources can pose a difficult problem as to the role they should try to play in international life. In one or two cases, such States have decided to restrict their membership to one or more of the specialized agencies, so that they may at any rate receive the fullest possible assistance from the United Nations system in advancing their economic and social development. I believe that the time has come when Member States may wish to examine more closely the criteria for the admission of new Members in the light of the long-term implications of present trends.

### Withdrawal of Indonesia

On January 1, 1965, the Secretary-General and the President of the 19th General Assembly were informed orally by the Indonesian Representative of Indonesia's intention to withdraw. In a message to President Sukarno, the Secretary-General, noting that the United Nations had that day inaugurated International Cooperation Year, expressed the hope that Indonesia would not "withdraw its cooperation from the world organization."

In a letter dated January 20, the Indonesian Foreign Minister formally informed the Secretary-General that his country had, on January 7, following the seating of Malaysia as a member of the Security Council, decided to withdraw from the United Nations. He declared that for his country "the problem of 'Malaysia' within the United Nations was just the further proof of this international body being manipulated by colonial and neo-colonial powers." He assured the Secretary-General, however, that "Indonesia still upholds the lofty principles of international cooperation as enshrined in the United Nations Charter" and would continue to be "active in the field of international cooperation for a better world." Nevertheless, it had decided "at this stage and under present circumstances to withdraw from the United Nations and in addition also from specialized agencies like the FAO, UNICEF, and UNESCO." In the course of 1965, the International Labor Organization, the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization, the International Bank, and the International Monetary Fund were added to this list.

On February 26 the Secretary-General replied to the Foreign Minister's letter, noting that, although there is no express provision for withdrawal in the U.N. Charter, a declaration on the subject had been adopted by the San Francisco Conference (see page 128). He said that he had issued the Foreign Minister's January 20 letter as both Security Council and General Assembly documents and had sent it directly to all U.N. member governments, as parties to the Charter. He had also, he said, consulted with U.N. members.

Further in his letter the Secretary-General agreed to the Foreign Minister's request that though Indonesia's "actual withdrawal" had already been carried out as of January 1, the Indonesian Mission in New York be permitted to "maintain its official status" until March 1, 1965.

The Secretary-General expressed the "profound regret that is widely felt in the United Nations" over Indonesia's withdrawal, and the hope that "in due time it will resume full cooperation with the United Nations."

The San Francisco statement referred to by the Secretary-General reads in part as follows:

The Committee adopted the view that the Charter should not make express provision either to permit or to prohibit withdrawal from the Organization. The Committee deems that the highest duty of the nations which will become members is to continue their cooperation within the Organization for the preservation of international peace and security. If, however, a member because of exceptional circumstances feels constrained to withdraw, and leave the burden of maintaining international peace and security on the other members, it is not the purpose of the Organization to compel that member to continue its cooperation in the Organization.

In the U.S. view, this statement clearly recognizes the right of withdrawal and the 1945 Report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on ratification of the U.N. Charter states: "The Committee has fully satisfied itself that any Member has the right to withdraw."

Indonesia is the only U.N. member to withdraw from the Organization, and its move was generally deplored. A number of members sought to persuade President Sukarno of Indonesia to reconsider. The Presidents of the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia, and the Prime Minister of Ceylon, as sponsors of the Cairo Non-Aligned Conference sent an appeal to him which was subsequently circulated to all U.N. members by the Secretariat.

Only Communist China, and to a lesser extent Cambodia, endorsed the Indonesian action.

### *Chinese Representation*

Predictably, supporters of Communist China, including the Soviet bloc and other countries that recognize Communist China, continued their efforts during 1965 to replace representatives of the Government of the Republic of China with those of Communist China not only in the major forums of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies but also in their smaller technical bodies. Their efforts, however, were firmly and successfully countered. At every meeting where this problem arose there was majority agreement that no action should be taken to change the representation of China and that



the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China were fully entitled to occupy their seats in these bodies.

The Chinese representation issue arose in its most critical form in 1965 at the 20th General Assembly. In a letter dated August 25, 1965, to the U.N. Secretary-General, Representatives of Albania, Algeria, Burundi, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, and Romania (subsequently joined by Syria) requested inclusion, as an "urgent" question, on the Assembly's agenda of an item under the now familiar title of "Restoration of the Lawful Rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations." These sponsors, in an explanatory memorandum submitted on September 20, depicted Communist China as having always favored the peaceful settlement of disputes and as respecting the independence and dignity of other countries. They stressed the necessity of Chinese Communist participation in efforts to find solutions to international problems and echoed the comments of previous years hostile to the Republic of China, terming it a "fiction" compared with the "reality" of Communist China.

On September 22 the Assembly's General (steering) Committee considered the 11-nation request for inscription of this item. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yost, stated that, while the United States did not oppose inscription, it felt that in the light of recent events consideration of this item in the General Assembly would serve no useful purpose. After a brief discussion the Committee decided without a vote to recommend that the item be inscribed, and, consistent with past practice, that it be considered in plenary session. On September 24 the Assembly adopted the recommendation without discussion or vote.

Contrary to previous years, debate on the question, which began on November 8, 1965, opened before a draft resolution had been submitted. Speaking on November 8, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, stated that the U.S. Government had thoroughly reviewed world developments since 1963 and had been strengthened in its conviction that the General Assembly should not reverse its past decision on the question of Chinese representation. He pointed out that a reversal now would be "yielding to undisguised blackmail" in view of the following conditions which Peiping had stipulated: (a) expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations, (b) cancellation of the U.N. resolution condemning Communist China and North Korea as aggressors in the Korean war, (c) adoption of a U.N. resolution condemning the United States as the aggressor in Korea, (d) revision of the U.N. Charter, and (e) expulsion from the United Nations of "all imperialist puppets," and inclusion of all "independent" states.

The U.S. Representative then quoted recent Chinese Communist statements to show that admission of Peiping would bring into the United Nations a force determined to destroy the orderly and progressive world that the United Nations has been helping to build over the past 20 years. As a third reason for opposing the admission of Communist China, he contended that in the light of its announced goals admission would only encourage Peiping to pursue its present policies of violence and would increase the likelihood of war in Asia. Turning to Viet-Nam, he noted Communist China's rejection of unconditional negotiations and of peaceful settlement brought about on the principle of self-determination. In conclusion, he urged the General Assembly not to "take a backward step that would encourage a new imperialism which demands conformity with its views, which rejects peaceful coexistence and propounds violence and warfare as a principle of international concourse."

On November 15, as the debate was drawing to a close, the Philippine Representative introduced a draft resolution, cosponsored by Australia, Brazil, Colombia, Gabon, Italy, Japan, Malagasy Republic, Thailand, and the United States (Nicaragua later joined as a co-sponsor), under which the Assembly would affirm that the decision of the 16th General Assembly that any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question under article 18 of the U.N. Charter, requiring a two-thirds majority for adoption, remains valid.

Later the same day Albania and Cambodia joined by Algeria, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Pakistan, Romania, Somalia, and Syria tabled a draft resolution in which the General Assembly would have decided that the representatives of Communist China were "the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations" and to "expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it."

In further U.S. statements on November 16 and 17, Ambassador Yost urged the General Assembly to regard the question of Chinese representation as an important question and asserted that it was Peiping's absence of will, not its absence from the United Nations, which was preventing it from assisting other nations to solve world problems. He noted that the "principle of universality" was violated by the call for the expulsion of a state whose population was larger than that of most of the sponsors, and declared that it would be hard to conceive of a more important decision than "to expel representatives of a state which founded this organization in order to seat a regime which explicitly rejects its most fundamental tenets and which shows no interest in joining except on outrageous terms."



Later that day Mauritania appealed to the sponsors of the Albanian-Cambodian resolution to delete the second operative paragraph, calling for the expulsion of representatives of the Republic of China, so as to allow more delegations to vote in favor of the draft resolution. If this appeal was not heeded, the Mauritanian Representative indicated he would ask for a separate vote on the paragraph in question. Ceylon then introduced an amendment to the Albanian-Cambodian resolution which would have replaced the two operative paragraphs with one paragraph merely calling on the General Assembly to seat the Chinese Communists in the United Nations and all its organs without specific mention of the Republic of China.

On November 17, after 12 plenary meetings in which some 60 representatives had expressed their governments' views, the General Assembly proceeded to vote on the two draft resolutions before it. Immediately prior to the vote, Ceylon withdrew its amendment to the Albanian-Cambodian resolution and Mauritania also withdrew its request for a separate vote on the second operative paragraph of this resolution; both explained that they were doing so in light of appeals from the resolution's sponsors, as well as from some of the resolution's opponents, who believed the changes might result in misinterpretations and lack of clarity.

The draft resolution sponsored by the United States and 10 other countries affirming the continuing validity of the important question decision of 1961 was adopted by a vote of 56 to 49, with 11 abstentions. Those voting in favor were: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Léopoldville), Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Gabon, The Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Those voting against were: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Kenya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, and Zambia. The 11 abstaining were: Austria, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Cyprus, Iran,



Jamaica, Kuwait, Maldives, Portugal, and Saudi Arabia. Dahomey did not participate in the voting.

The 12-state draft resolution was then rejected by a vote of 47 to 47, with 20 abstentions, failing to obtain even a simple majority. Those who voted for the resolution were: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Kenya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanzania, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, Yemen, Yugoslavia, and Zambia. Those opposed were: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Gabon, The Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The 20 abstaining were: Austria, Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Chile, Cyprus, Iceland, Iran, Jamaica, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Maldives, Netherlands, Portugal, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Trinidad and Tobago, and Tunisia. Dahomey and Laos did not participate in the vote, while Congo (Léopoldville) was absent.

The issue of Chinese representation was again raised by the Soviet Union in the Credentials Committee (consisting of Australia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Iceland, Malagasy Republic, Syria, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., and the U.S.) when it met on December 17. The Soviet Representative, stating that only the representatives of Communist China could represent China in the United Nations, introduced a draft resolution under which the Credentials Committee would decide "to consider invalid the credentials of the persons calling themselves the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China . . . due to the incompatibility of these credentials with the requirements of Rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly." The Committee chairman, Ambassador Kjartansson of Iceland, recalling that the General Assembly had already decided this matter, ruled the Soviet resolution out of order. When the Soviet Representative questioned the chairman's power to make such a ruling, the Committee upheld his competence to do so by a vote of 6 to 3. A Soviet challenge to the chairman's ruling was then rejected by a vote of 3 to 6.

On December 21 the General Assembly voted 45 to 1, with 58 abstentions to approve the report of the Credentials Committee except insofar as it pertained to South African credentials. Representatives of Burma, Cambodia, U.S.S.R., Afghanistan, Romania, Albania, Pakistan, Syria, United Arab Republic, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Algeria, and Poland expressed reservations on the credentials of the delegation of the Republic of China. The U.S. Representative asserted that there was no question about the validity of these credentials, either on the grounds of procedure, since they were in complete accord with the relevant rules of procedure of the General Assembly, or on the grounds of substance, for the General Assembly had earlier in the session upheld the right of the Government of the Republic of China to represent China in the United Nations.

### *Enlargement of U.N. Councils*

The U.N. Secretary-General announced on August 31, 1965, that with the deposit that day of the U.S. instrument of ratification, the first amendments to the U.N. Charter had come into effect. Amendments must be ratified by two-thirds of all U.N. members, including the five permanent members of the Security Council, to become effective.

In 1963 the 18th General Assembly had adopted by overwhelming majorities amendments to the Charter to increase the number of nonpermanent members on the Security Council from 6 to 10, to raise the majority required for Security Council action from 7 to 9, and to increase the membership of the Economic and Social Council from 18 to 27. In adopting these amendments, which reflected the fact that U.N. membership had more than doubled since the Charter was drafted in 1945, the General Assembly called on member states to ratify them by September 1, 1965. This target date was met and an adjustment in the Charter, which had first been proposed in 1956 and debated at almost every General Assembly since, had finally been accomplished.

### **U.S. Position**

In a message to the Senate on April 6, 1965, requesting its advice and consent to ratification, President Johnson described the amendments as "realistic" because they took into account the growth of the United Nations, and "equitable" because they provided the new members from Africa and Asia with greater opportunities for representation on the Councils. In adopting the amendments the Assembly had expressly allocated the new seats to geographic areas, and this,

the President said, would serve to do away with "the contentious problem of sharing an inadequate number of seats." He pointed out that the interests of the permanent members of the Security Council were protected because neither their seats nor their right of veto were affected. Affirming that the amendments would strengthen the United Nations because they were "at once equitable and reasonable," he termed them "a reflection and a demonstration of both the stability and the adaptability of the United Nations Charter."

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held public hearings on the amendments on April 28 and 29 and the next day reported them out favorably to the Senate which on June 3 approved their ratification by the United States by a vote of 71 to 0.

### Implementation of Amendments

The 18th General Assembly had stipulated that elections to fill both old and new seats on the Councils should be held on the same occasion. The Secretary-General announced on August 31 that these elections would be held during the 20th General Assembly. He also announced that in accordance with the General Assembly's Rules of Procedure the terms of office of all newly elected members of the Councils would begin on January 1, 1966.

Elections were held in December and in conformity with the geographic allocation established by the 18th General Assembly, seats on the enlarged Councils were distributed as follows: Security Council—Africa and Asia, 5; Latin America, 2; Western Europe and "other states," 2; Eastern Europe, 1; plus the 5 permanent members; Economic and Social Council—Africa and Asia, 12; Latin America, 5; Western Europe and "other states," 6 (including France and the United Kingdom); Eastern Europe, 3 (including the U.S.S.R.); and the United States. The term "other states" is understood to mean those states that are not generally recognized as being part of any organized geographic area, for example, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

The Assembly also amended its Rules of Procedure to bring them into conformity with the Charter as amended. Only one of these changes, which were first considered in the Assembly's Sixth (Legal) Committee, was questioned—that raising from seven to nine the majority required in the Security Council to request an emergency special session of the General Assembly under the Uniting for Peace resolution. When the changes in the Rules of Procedure came before the plenary on December 8, the U.S.S.R. stated that it would vote against this change and reiterated its view that the Uniting for Peace resolution is illegal. Poland and France took a similar position and announced their intention to abstain. The United States,



reaffirming its belief in the legality of the Uniting for Peace resolution, maintained that in any event the question of the validity of this resolution was irrelevant to that of simple procedural changes in the Rules required by the amendment of the Charter.

The change in question was adopted by a vote of 69 to 9, with 2 abstentions. The other changes were adopted unanimously.

### Related Amendment

Agreement on the amendments enlarging the Councils had been reached very late in the General Assembly's 18th session. Through an oversight article 109 of the Charter concerning the holding of a Charter review conference, which provides for Security Council action on the vote of "any seven members," had not been amended to raise the required majority from seven to nine on the enlarged Security Council. Therefore, the Secretary-General on September 16, 1965, requested the inclusion on the agenda for the 20th General Assembly of an item entitled "Amendment of Article 109 of the Charter of the United Nations."

In the explanatory memorandum accompanying his request, which included a draft resolution, the Secretary-General pointed out that the Charter amendments enlarging the Councils had come into force and that in the interest of the internal consistency of the Charter, article 109(1) should also be amended to raise the majority requirement to nine. The Secretary-General further suggested that paragraph 3 of article 109, providing that the question of holding a Charter review conference should be placed on the agenda of the 10th General Assembly if such a conference had not been held by that time, be deleted as obsolete. He pointed out that in 1955 the 10th General Assembly had considered this question and had adopted a resolution on the subject, which was subsequently concurred in by the Security Council. In these circumstances to change "seven" to "nine" in article 109(3) "would serve no useful purpose and its technical and legal correctness could be questioned."

Though the 20th General Assembly's General (steering) Committee recommended allocation of this item to the plenary, the Assembly on September 24 decided, at the suggestion of one representative, to allocate it instead to the Legal Committee of the Assembly for advice on the steps to be taken on the basis of the "legal situation with respect to Article 109."

When the Legal Committee considered this item on December 14, it was reported by his Representative that the Secretary-General had decided that "for historical reasons at least" article 109(3) should not be deleted. Accordingly, the Representative of Greece submitted a revised draft resolution, which omitted any reference to

article 109(3) and called on members to ratify the amendment to article 109(1) "at the earliest possible date."

There was general agreement in the Legal Committee on the need to amend the first paragraph of article 109 in order to change the Security Council majority required from "seven" to "nine," and the Greek draft resolution was adopted unanimously. With respect to the third paragraph of this article, one representative expressed the view that its deletion might raise the question whether the 10th General Assembly's decision to convene a Charter review conference "at an appropriate time" remained in effect. Other members expressed the opinion that any future review conference should only be convened under paragraph 1 of article 109.

The Representative of the Secretary-General, in proposing the retention of the third paragraph of article 109, had suggested that the Secretary-General be authorized to include in any future editions of the text of the Charter an editorial preface giving the history of the Charter amendments and explaining the apparent anomaly between article 109(1) as amended and article 109(3) as unamended, by reference to the resolution adopted by the 10th General Assembly. The Committee accepted this suggestion on the understanding that the proposed preface would be purely editorial, with no implication that it formed part of the text of the Charter.

The Greek resolution recommended by the Legal Committee was adopted unanimously in plenary on December 20 without further discussion.

### *Charter Review*

On the closing day of its 20th session the General Assembly adopted without objection the report of its Committee on Arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter, which recommended that the Committee be kept in being and requested to report again in 1967 to the 22d General Assembly.

The Committee on Arrangements had been established by the 10th General Assembly to make recommendations on the time, place, organization, and procedures of a Charter review conference. The question of holding such a conference was automatically before the 10th session under article 109(3) of the Charter. The Assembly decided in principle that such a conference should be held "at an appropriate time" but believing that the "appropriate time" had not arrived, established a Committee of the Whole to keep the matter under review.

This Committee met in 1957, 1959, 1961, 1962, 1963, and 1965. Its meetings, except for that in 1963 which was devoted almost exclusively to the problem of enlarging the Security Council and



the Economic and Social Council, have been brief and of a largely perfunctory nature, it being generally recognized that the "auspicious international circumstances" referred to in the 10th General Assembly's resolution still did not prevail. The Committee has therefore simply recommended at each of its meetings that it be kept in being and requested to report again. On each occasion this recommendation has been accepted by the General Assembly without further discussion.

The meeting of the Committee on September 16, 1965, was even more perfunctory than usual, hearing only three speakers, the Representatives of the United States, U.S.S.R., and Austria, besides its chairman. The Committee adopted its recommendation to the Assembly by a vote of 54 to 0, with 10 abstentions.

The United States has consistently supported the holding of a review conference when in the opinion of most members the "auspicious international circumstances" referred to by the 10th General Assembly exist but does not itself believe that such a review conference could be profitably held in the near future. The U.S. Representative, Seymour M. Finger, at the meeting on September 16 stated, after reaffirming U.S. support in principle for the holding of a review conference:

. . . It is the opinion of my Government that a general review should take place in a serious and constructive atmosphere, where there is general agreement on the objectives of the conference and where we could envisage the enhancement of U.N. operations. Unfortunately, there is at present no such general agreement, and in these circumstances, there can hardly be a constructive atmosphere . . . .

The U.S. Representative urged that members endeavor "to promote the further development of the United Nations" within the framework of the present Charter, and pointed out that, as evidenced by the coming into effect of the amendments enlarging the Councils, a review conference was not the only means of making necessary modifications in the Charter.

The Representative of the Soviet Union, which has consistently opposed the holding of a review conference, either voting against or abstaining on the resolution to keep the Committee on Arrangements in being, did not categorically oppose the idea of review or declare it impossible in the absence of the Chinese Communists as he has in the past. Rather, he said that the U.S.S.R. did not think "circumstances justified calling a review conference at the present time," advocating, instead, strict compliance with the provisions of the present Charter in order to realize its full potentialities. Subsequently, the Soviet Representative, the only speaker on this item in the General Assembly, reiterated this view, stating:

. . . Our problem is not to modify the Charter but to strictly adhere to it and to carry out all its provisions, especially those relating to the maintenance of international peace and security.



## *Cooperation Between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity*

### **Committee of 24**

During June 1965 the Organization of African Unity (OAU) took part in the meetings in Africa of the U.N. Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries (Committee of 24). In a resolution adopted in Addis Ababa on June 18 the Committee included a paragraph expressing the hope that the cooperation established between the two organizations with regard to decolonization would be intensified in the future.

### **20th General Assembly**

In a letter of September 23, 1965, 34 African states requested the inclusion of an item entitled "Cooperation Between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity" on the agenda of the 20th General Assembly. The sponsors pointed out that in 1964 the Security Council had recognized the OAU as a regional organization under the U.N. Charter. They urged that an invitation be extended to the Administrative Secretary General of the OAU to attend General Assembly sessions as an observer, noting that such an invitation had been extended to Secretaries General of the Organization of American States and the League of Arab States in 1948 and 1950, respectively.

On the recommendation of its General (steering) Committee, the Assembly added this item to its agenda and assigned it directly to plenary session. On October 11 the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution requesting the U.N. Secretary-General (1) to invite the Administrative Secretary General of the OAU to attend sessions of the General Assembly as an observer, (2) to explore means of promoting cooperation between the two organizations, and (3) to report to the General Assembly as appropriate.

### **Secretary-General's Report**

In a report issued on December 16, 1965, the U.N. Secretary-General said that the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government had at its October meeting in Accra invited him to attend, as an observer, sessions of the OAU Assembly, of the Council of Ministers, and of all OAU specialized commissions. Meanwhile, the OAU Administrative Secretary General had expressed the hope that a similar invitation would be extended from the United Nations to the OAU. The report noted that this was a matter for decision by the individual

U.N. organs; some had already done so, and it remained open for the others to do so.

Finally, the report described arrangements for future effective liaison at the Secretariat level; described possible mutual assistance in the training and exchange of administrative, conference, general services, and other staff; and affirmed that the two organizations would continue to seek other means of cooperation.

### *Improvement of Methods of Work of the General Assembly*

The 18th General Assembly had authorized the Secretary-General to arrange for the installation of mechanical voting equipment in the main General Assembly Hall, to be used on an experimental basis for 1 year, and to carry out additional preparatory work in one or two committee rooms, which would permit an eventual expansion of the system without undue expense should its experimental use be successful. This action was taken on the basis of a recommendation of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Improvement of the Methods of Work of the General Assembly which had been set up by the 17th Assembly. The equipment was installed in preparation for the 19th Assembly, but since the business of that session was accomplished on a no objection basis, without regular voting, it was not until the 20th Assembly that the equipment could be tested. During that session it was used not only at plenary meetings but also by various committees, arrangements having been made to enable as many as possible of the main committees to use the General Assembly Hall on a rotating basis, so that all representatives would have an opportunity to try out the equipment.

Near the close of the 20th Assembly session, the Secretary-General reported that the results of the experiment had justified the expectations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and that use of the equipment during the session had demonstrated the ease of operation, the speed, and the accuracy of mechanical voting. He added that it had not detracted from the dignity of the Assembly in any way and that there had been no complaints from delegates regarding its operation. Moreover, use of the equipment had not given rise to any procedural discussions in plenary or committee.

On December 21, the General Assembly accepted without debate or vote the Secretary-General's recommendation that experimental use of the voting system in the General Assembly Hall be continued for an additional year, at the cost of approximately \$10,000, following which the Secretary-General would report to the 21st General Assembly on the further experience gained and on possible extension of the system to other committee rooms.

## *International Cooperation Year*

### **Committee Activities**

At its 18th session, the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution proclaiming 1965 International Cooperation Year (ICY). As part of the U.S. observance of ICY there had been formed by early 1965 a National Citizens' Commission with Robert S. Benjamin as chairman. The Commission consisted of 230 distinguished Americans representing all aspects of American life. By mid-March, the National Citizens' Commission and the Cabinet Committee (appointed by the President on November 24, 1964, and representing 22 executive departments and agencies) had formed working committees covering 30 separate areas of international cooperation.

The task of the committees was to prepare reports for the President, which would (1) inform the President and the American people of our present position in the major functional areas of international cooperation; (2) suggest what our goals ought to be in each of these areas; and (3) recommend how best to achieve those goals. The President on March 4 called for a White House Conference on International Cooperation to be held November 28–December 1, at which the reports would be presented and fully discussed.

On March 23, 1965, the National Citizens' Commission, the Cabinet Committee, and other government officials met under the auspices of the Department of State to plan the work that lay ahead.

Subsequently, the United Nations Association of the United States of America engaged more than 450 nongovernmental organizations in the ICY program by inviting them to prepare working papers and recommendations for presentation at the White House Conference.

A second meeting of the 30 committee chairmen, the Cabinet Committee, and other government officials was held in the Department of State on June 2 when plans for the remaining months of work were formulated. As a result of this meeting, it became clear that the program would serve other important purposes besides making recommendations in fields of international cooperation; i.e., (1) focus attention on highly important international programs that are often obscured by international crises; (2) serve as a market place and laboratory for new ideas; and (3) demonstrate a broad consensus between the government and the citizenry as well as political bipartisanship.

### **White House Conference**

As the reports neared completion, the focus shifted from the committees to the White House Conference itself, which would have a



panel session for each of the 30 committee topics. Vice President Humphrey agreed to serve as Chairman of the Conference, and Raymond D. Nasher of Dallas, Tex., Chairman of the ICY Urban Development Committee, agreed to serve as Executive Director. Invitations to take part in the Conference were sent to some 2,000 private citizens and 400 government officials. In addition some 3,000 other citizens attended individual panel sessions as observers, thereby involving a total of over 5,000 Americans in the Conference. More than 400 recommendations were contained in the committee reports alone; additional ones were made during the panel sessions at the Conference.

The Conference was especially fortunate to have outstanding speakers. These included the Vice President; the Secretary of State; Ambassador Goldberg; Assistant Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco (who had succeeded Harlan Cleveland as Chairman of the Cabinet Committee); McGeorge Bundy and Douglass Cater, Special Assistants to the President; Robert S. Benjamin; and Raymond D. Nasher.

At the first plenary session on the morning of November 29, Assistant Secretary Sisco observed that:

. . . This Conference brings together great talent and an enormous range of experience in every sphere. It brings together deep erudition. But this meeting is inspiring, not so much for the wealth of talent as for what it shows about the vitality of our society. The efforts of private individuals and Government are the essence of our democratic process.

The Vice President read a message from the President to the Conference which stated:

I have called this Conference for one reason. I am determined that the United States shall actively engage its best minds and boldest spirits in the quest for a new order of world cooperation.

This nation recognizes that international cooperation is not merely a lofty ideal.

At the final plenary on December 1, Secretary Rusk, on behalf of the President, received the committee reports and recommendations from Mr. Benjamin. He also accepted the reports from the non-governmental organizations. In so doing, Secretary Rusk said:

This White House Conference on International Cooperation has achieved a great deal. . . . it's almost unique in our own country. . . .

And we would hope very much that no one of you would consider that this conference ends today, that you will continue to follow these matters wherever you live and whatever your particular occupation, in order to keep your talents available and your contributions coming forward. . . .

And so your job is not finished and the work that you have done just cannot end today. The search for greater international cooperation and world peace remains long and hard, but it will continue to require the very best that any of us can put into it.

In keeping with Secretary Rusk's promise the departments and agencies of the government now have over 400 recommendations under careful review. Many of the recommendations already are being implemented; others are scheduled for implementation in the future; still others will require extensive study before a final judgment can be made.

On December 16 the 20th General Assembly invited the United Nations ICY Committee to submit its final report to the 21st session of the Assembly.

# *Cooperation in the Economic, Social, Scientific, and Human Rights Fields*

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## INTRODUCTION

The 19th General Assembly's establishment in December 1964 of a new major organ, the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), marked a decisive stage in the development of the economic and social activities of the United Nations. It reflected a drive by the developing countries to have the United Nations give greater emphasis to the creation of new trade patterns which would assist them in their economic development. The emergence of UNCTAD also raised problems relating to the role of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), which had been set up by the Charter as the principal U.N. organ in the economic and social field. The developing countries, who were the major proponents of UNCTAD, considered the Council not representative of their interests but rather an institution of the developed countries.

1965, however, was notable because of a perceptible reversal of this trend. The enlargement of the Council membership from 18 to 27 became a reality, with the developing countries in the majority. With this came a lessening of criticism by the developing countries. There was a growing recognition of the three basic functions of the Council, operating under the authority of the General Assembly.

The Secretary-General brought these functions into clear focus in his opening statement to the 39th ECOSOC when he outlined the Council's role as (1) a governing body for U.N. activities in the economic, social, and human rights fields; (2) the major body for the coordination of the activities of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); and (3) a forum for the discussion and formulation of broad policies in the economic and social field.



*U.N. Programs in the Economic and Social Fields*

In this new atmosphere, members of the Council, including the United States, and the U.N. Secretariat launched a determined effort to revise and revitalize the Council's working methods and machinery to enable it to carry out its functions more effectively. Clearly, this could not be done overnight. Steps had to be taken slowly and deliberately in response to felt needs and guided by experience rather than a mere desire for change for change's sake.

Having in mind its function as governing body for a complex system of economic and social organs, of functional and regional commissions, and of other subsidiary bodies, the Council gave special attention to ways and means of rendering more effective its annual review of these bodies and their activities. It concluded that more data, more clearly presented, were needed to permit a review in depth of U.N. work programs and budgetary requirements in the economic, social, and human rights fields. The Council, therefore, outlined in detail the type of information needed, and requested the Secretary-General "to prepare a work programme covering the various units of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, including those of the regional economic commissions, the Division of Human Rights and the Division of Narcotic Drugs, and provide for each major project a full description of its purpose, scope, and timing with particular emphasis on the work to be carried out in 1966 and 1967."

The Special Committee on Coordination was given the task of reviewing this material in light of the 1967 budget estimates and to report in the summer of 1966 to the 41st session of the Council. The Committee itself was reconstituted to give it greater strength and now includes not only 10 members elected from the membership of the Council but also the President of the Council, the two Vice Presidents, and the Chairman of the Sessional Coordination Committee (Committee of the Whole) of the Council. In addition to examining the U.N. work programs, the Special Committee is to continue its consideration of U.N. activities as they relate to the United Nations Development Decade and other coordination matters. It is expected to do a more thorough job in reviewing the reports of the specialized agencies with a view to alerting the Council to problems requiring special attention and to preparing recommendations for action by the Council. The full Committee is to meet periodically with the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC).

In striving to relate program and budget and to undertake a thorough program review, the Council acknowledged the important role of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) and sought its advice and cooperation, specifically

inviting its Chairman to participate in the Special Committee's review of the work program. This cooperation, bringing the budgetary expertise of the ACABQ to bear upon the work of the Special Committee (which is primarily concerned with programs and priorities), should prove useful to the Council, the ACABQ, and the total membership of the United Nations.

### *United Nations Coordination Matters*

Important measures were taken to improve coordination between the United Nations, and the specialized agencies and the IAEA. Mention has already been made of the joint meetings of the ACC and the Special Committee on Coordination which should further cooperation between ECOSOC and the General Assembly on the one hand and the specialized agencies on the other. The Council urged again that the ACC secretariat should be strengthened to cope with coordination, not only to avoid overlaps and duplication but to achieve concerted action on priority programs.

There has long been a desire among member governments to receive information from the United Nations and the specialized agencies in a uniform manner; i.e., presented in such a way as to permit consideration and comparison of cognate programs whether undertaken by the United Nations or by any of the related organizations. This requires a classification of programs by subject and type of activity. With this in mind the Council again requested the ACC to submit, as a first measure, a list of priority programs and activities in the fields of interest to the Council, with an indication of expenditures involved under both the regular budgets and the extra-budgetary programs. This should provide a basis for achieving more effective coordination in major fields.

In addition to information that will help the Council and the agencies to set meaningful priorities, the Council has realized for some time that an evaluation of the overall impact of all of the U.N. and agency programs on the economic and social development of individual countries was important. 1965 marked real progress in this area. Arrangements for pilot evaluation projects in three separate countries were completed. One team went to Thailand, another to Tunisia, and the third to Chile. The group for Thailand was headed by an American, Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., of the University of California, who had formerly served the U.S. Government in various official positions. In all instances the teams worked closely with the host governments, and it is expected that the reports will be useful and will set a pattern for more comprehensive efforts at evaluation.



The most important development of the year in terms of cooperation and active coordination throughout the U.N. system was the establishment of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) as a result of the merger (approved November 22) of the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund. The United States had played a leading role in the creation of this new body. The new structure is streamlined, with one central administration, one intergovernmental Governing Council, and an Inter-Agency Consultative Board composed of the executive heads of the specialized agencies and the IAEA, with UNICEF and the Executive Director of the World Food Program also participating. It is anticipated that this merger will facilitate the coordination of programming for the two programs, and also strengthen the central role of the U.N. Resident Representative in each country, thus encouraging purposeful planning and coordination of activities on the country level. The Inter-Agency Consultative Board is charged not only with advising on the programs and projects of the UNDP which are financed from voluntary contributions, but also with considering them in relation to the regular technical assistance activities financed from the assessed budgets of the United Nations and the related agencies. This should make for better overall coordination.

### *Documentation and Conferences*

The United Nations and its related agencies are threatened with submergence under a gathering avalanche of documents and papers. The secretariats are overburdened with the preparation and reproduction of all kinds of reports and papers and even the largest countries and delegations find it impossible to give them adequate consideration.

The Council continued to seek ways of alleviating what has become an unbearable situation. Not only was the Secretary-General asked to present proposals for reducing the volume of future documentation, but the Council specifically requested him to prepare summaries and pertinent conclusions of lengthy reports and detailed technical summaries and to submit to each session a short list of the main secretariat reports which would come before the Council at the following session, giving dates when the documents will be available. The specialized agencies and the IAEA were requested, in conjunction with their annual reports, to present short analytical reports on developments and activities that are likely to be of particular interest to the Council, and to include appropriate recommendations for Council action. These are obviously only first steps. The Council decided to give further thought to the problem in 1966.

One reason for the quantity of papers is the proliferation of con-



ferences and meetings; there are now close to a thousand each year. Both the General Assembly and ECOSOC have expressed concern over this situation which has reached a point where even the largest powers find it difficult if not impossible to prepare for these meetings and send adequate delegations. It places a special burden on the developing countries which can ill afford to have their scarce, trained personnel spend an inordinate amount of time at international meetings.

No effective answer has yet been found to this situation. Indeed, with the creation of UNCTAD scores of additional conferences and meetings have been called or are contemplated. The impending establishment of the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development is likely to add quite a few more. Actions taken to date have clearly been inadequate to stem the tide and will require more radical action by governments and secretariats alike in 1966.

In all the efforts to bring about better coordination, concerted action, and economy the United States has played a leading role, both in the debates and in the preparation of resolutions. With the growing emphasis by most U.N. members on the role of the Council as a coordinator, the interest of the developing countries in the work of the Council has increased and there is a greater appreciation of the intricacies of the problems with which the Council deals.

## ECONOMIC COOPERATION

### *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development* (UNCTAD)

The new U.N. economic organization, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), was an outgrowth of a special conference—the largest economic conference in history—which took place in the spring of 1964 in Geneva. The developing countries have called UNCTAD the most important single event for them since the founding of the United Nations.

The Final Act issued at the conclusion of that conference contains the following statement which illustrates the basic purpose not only of the first Conference, but the continuing UNCTAD machinery now in operation on a permanent basis:

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was convened in order to provide, by means of international cooperation, appropriate solutions to the problems of world trade and development problems of the developing countries.

The continuing UNCTAD machinery set up by the 19th General

Assembly calls for full conferences at least every 3 years (the next will be held in 1967); a Trade and Development Board of 55 countries (almost half the participants) to meet normally twice a year between conferences; and three committees of the Trade and Development Board, to deal with primary commodity trade, trade in manufactures (with a subcommittee on preferences), and invisibles and financing related to trade. The Board subsequently established a fourth committee on shipping, pursuant to authority vested in it by the General Assembly. This machinery has its own secretariat in the U.N. structure, headed by a Secretary General of the Conference, Raúl Prebisch, who was appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and confirmed by the General Assembly.

### Trade and Development Board Meetings

Two regular and one special sessions of the Trade and Development Board were held during 1965, devoted largely to procedural and organizational matters. The United States, which is a member of the Board, participated in all sessions. The first session, which took place April 5-30 in New York, established terms of reference for the four subsidiary committees, elected the members of the committees, established a work program for the Board which constitutes initial guidance for the work of the committees and the secretariat, and adopted a comprehensive set of rules of procedure.

The principal substantive issue at the session was the question of whether the UNCTAD machinery should be essentially a place to discuss and make recommendations on trade and development problems, or whether it should be an action agency. This question was at the heart of the major issues on which developed and developing countries differed at the session, e.g., the question of reporting procedures, mandates of the committees, UNCTAD's powers of coordination, and the program of work.

It was to this point that the U.S. Representative to the Board's first session, Philip H. Trezise, addressed himself when he said:

For the part of the United States, we are clear about the basic character of the recommendations adopted in the framework of UNCTAD institutions. They do not have the force of law. The question of procedures to ensure compliance—in the sense of compliance with legal obligations—does not arise. Paragraph 15 of Resolution 1995 tells us that this Board *should* consider action within its competence for the implementation of UNCTAD resolutions; that it *should* ensure the continuity of its work. It does not, however, attempt to ascribe to these recommendations the force of legislative acts or the character of legally accepted and binding commitments.

At its second session (Geneva, August 24-September 15, resumed



in New York, October 25-27 and October 29), the Board again devoted itself almost exclusively to organizational issues: it approved the reports of the Committee on Commodities and the Committee on Manufactures (the remaining two committees held their meetings after the Board's second session); "harmonized" the rules of procedure for the two committees; and decided upon the composition of the bureaux of all four subsidiary committees.

One of the major substantive issues at the Board's second session was the review of "implementation" of Conference recommendations. This item concerns the procedure and form in which the Board is to carry out the function set out in paragraph 15 of the 19th General Assembly's resolution establishing UNCTAD.

After considerable negotiation, the Board adopted a resolution setting forth a procedure for carrying out the review function. Under this procedure, the UNCTAD Secretary General is requested to prepare an annual report on international trade and economic developments on the basis of information supplied by member governments, U.N. bodies, and international organizations. The report is then to be considered by the Board at its summer session as a background document for the review and assessment of the implementation of UNCTAD recommendations.

The role of the subsidiary committees in the review process is described in operative paragraph 6 of the resolution, which provides that the Secretary General of the Conference is to supply the committees with such information and analysis as the Board may deem necessary for the committees to assist the Board in its task of review and assessment.

The Secretary General is also requested to prepare a report for each meeting of the Board on the progress made and concrete measures taken toward the coordination of UNCTAD activities with those of other bodies in the field of trade development.

The resumed second session of the Board in New York was devoted to the review and adoption of its report to the General Assembly; and at a special 1-day session in New York on October 28, the Board voted to recommend to the General Assembly that the UNCTAD headquarters be located at the European office of the United Nations in Geneva, with a liaison office in New York.

### Committee Meetings

During 1965 sessions were held by each of the Board's four subsidiary committees, as well as the UNCTAD Special Committee on Preferences (subsequently made a permanent subcommittee of the



Committee on Manufactures). The United States was represented at all these meetings, of which a brief résumé follows:

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PREFERENCES (NEW YORK, MAY 10-27, 1965)

The Special (*ad hoc*) Committee on Preferences was convened to consider the best method of implementing a system of preferences by developed countries on imports of manufactures and semimanufactures from developing countries, and to discuss further the differences in principle on whether and how such preferences should be granted. The meeting was somewhat repetitious of views expressed previously, but a number of positions and suggested techniques for implementation became sharply defined for the first time. The Committee reached only one conclusion; namely, "that consideration of all aspects of the matter be pursued further." The work of this Special Committee will be taken over by a 34-member permanent subcommittee of the Committee on Manufactures.

COMMITTEE ON COMMODITIES (GENEVA, JULY 19-AUGUST 7, 1965)

This Committee takes over the functions of two existing U.N. bodies which have long been active on commodity problems; namely, the Commission on International Commodity Trade (CICT), which has kept world commodity developments under regular review and promoted general studies and action to alleviate problems of commodity trade, and the Interim Coordinating Committee on International Commodity Arrangements (ICCICA), a small group of experts which has advised the Secretary-General in his responsibilities for convening commodity conferences upon request, and otherwise facilitated action on particular commodities. Although provision has been made for maintaining such a group of experts, to be known as the Advisory Committee, the functions of advising on commodity conferences and of facilitating and coordinating action on individual commodities are now vested in the Committee on Commodities. Since, also, the Secretary-General of the United Nations has delegated to the Secretary General of UNCTAD his established responsibilities in the commodity field, a new situation exists in which the developing countries can, through their majority vote in the UNCTAD institutions, exert a strong influence on the number, timing, and objectives of intergovernmental meetings on particular commodity problems. (See "Commodity Trade," page 155.)

At its first session, the Committee on Commodities handled various organizational questions and certain questions of substance on which the Conference and Board had requested early action. It drew up draft rules of procedure; formulated an extensive program of work

aimed both at promoting action on individual commodities and carrying forward the more general, across-the-board approach to commodity problems started by the CICT; and approved plans for three subsidiary bodies—a Permanent Subcommittee, a Permanent Group on Synthetics and Substitutes, and an *Ad Hoc* Working Party on the International Organization of Commodity Trade. On the substantive side, the Committee dealt with a request of the Board that its first report indicate those commodities whose market situation is causing “particular concern” and the “remedial action needed in the form of commodity arrangements or other specific measures.” As the result of its review of the current commodity situation, it made recommendations regarding three products causing “immediate concern” (cocoa, sugar, and coffee) and certain other products which it felt “required close attention” (copper, cotton, iron ore, lead and zinc, rice, rubber, tea, tobacco, and vegetable oils). Time did not permit it to discuss the other products; therefore, the second list was not considered definitive.

Of long-range significance in this connection were the precedents established for relating the Committee’s activities on particular commodities to the work and responsibilities of the established commodity organizations, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, the various independent commodity councils, and study groups. These groups had sent representatives to take part in the Committee’s work and to offer full cooperation with the Committee. The Committee in turn endorsed the activities of these groups and welcomed the prospect of working closely with them through a regular exchange of information, reports, and observers. The Committee’s recommendations on particular products were, in general, designed to endorse and encourage work already underway in these specialized bodies.

#### COMMITTEE ON MANUFACTURES (GENEVA, AUGUST 10–20, 1965)

The first part of the first session of the Committee on Manufactures adopted, without change, its terms of reference as proposed by the Trade and Development Board. The Committee also agreed on rules of procedure very similar to those adopted for its own use by the Board, and developed a work program drawn in part from its terms of reference and designed to achieve the objective of expanding and developing exports of manufactures and semimanufactures by the less developed countries. Additionally, the Committee recommended the establishment of a 34-member subsidiary body to consider further the question of the granting and extension of preferences in favor of developing countries. The second part of the Committee’s first session was scheduled for February 28–March 8, 1966.



## COMMITTEE ON SHIPPING (GENEVA, NOVEMBER 8-23, 1965)

At its first session, the Committee on Shipping adopted rules of procedure and its program of work. In considering and adopting the latter, the greater part of the Committee's time was devoted to items concerning "Establishment of National and Regional Consultation Machinery" and "Level and Structure of Freight Rates, Conferences Practices and Adequacy of Shipping Services." With regard to the first of these items, compromise wording was agreed upon which reads: "The Secretariat should . . . prepare one or several models for establishing consultation machinery adaptable to the need of varying economic and other conditions in different parts of the world. This study should include the question of the participation of government and port authorities in such consultative machinery." On the latter item, the Committee unanimously accepted a compromise solution whereby the Secretariat is to prepare for the Committee's approval the outline of a study on the level and structure of freight rates, practices of shipping conferences, and adequacy of shipping services, together with an explanation of the proposed study's objectives. If approved, the Secretariat will submit a progress report on the study to the second regular session of the Committee.

## COMMITTEE ON INVISIBLES AND FINANCING RELATED TO TRADE (GENEVA, DECEMBER 6-22, 1965)

This Committee covers two broad fields of activity: *invisibles* (mainly transactions arising in the field of shipping, insurance and reinsurance, tourism, and in connection with transfer of technology); and international *financing* (mainly items relating to the adequacy of the rates of growth of developing countries, the net flow and effective use of financial resources available to developing countries, problems of debt servicing, compensatory and supplementary financing).

At the first part of its first session, the Committee adopted its program of work and acted on a number of organizational matters. The program of work on invisibles adopted by the Committee consists of a series of studies to be undertaken by the Secretariat of the UNCTAD or by groups of experts covering such subjects as improvement of statistical data on invisible transactions (in close cooperation with the International Monetary Fund and the Statistical Office of the United Nations); questions concerning insurance and reinsurance legislation; investment policy of insurance and reinsurance institutions; the development of national insurance and reinsurance markets; and uniform clauses for marine insurance. The studies will also cover the development of tourist potential on a selected country basis and a review of the worldwide pattern of tourist travel. The Secre-



tariat will work in close consultation with other organizations of the United Nations on these studies.

The Committee's program of work on financing related to trade also consists mainly of a series of studies. These will cover rates of growth for developing countries; measurement of net flows of financial resources; ways and means for increasing these net flows; reviews of the terms, coordination, and effectiveness of aid; problem of debt servicing; examination of the study now being carried out by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) on suppliers' credits and credit insurance; the Horowitz Proposal ("Development Financing Plan"); the IBRD staff report on supplementary financial measures; and the second report of the Group of Experts on payments arrangements between developing countries.

The Committee decided to hold a special session in New York in February 1966 to continue a discussion, begun in Geneva in December, of a report of a Group of Experts on international monetary issues. Later in 1966, the Committee will resume and conclude its first session.

The United States is participating in the new U.N. trade machinery in a sincere attempt to devise feasible international solutions for some of the severe economic problems faced by the developing countries. Measures to increase trade and speed the development of those countries reflect our own desires to improve their prosperity and welfare

### *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)*

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is the principal instrument through which the United States works with other nations to reduce barriers to trade throughout most of the world. It is essentially a reciprocal trade agreement whose mutual rights and obligations apply to all of the contracting parties to the Agreement. The GATT is not a U.N. body, but the work in the trade field undertaken within the United Nations is closely related to that of the GATT.

One of the United States most important activities in the GATT is its participation in the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations in Geneva. This is the most ambitious effort for trade liberalization ever undertaken and represents the first attempt to negotiate a relaxation of all types of obstructions to freer trade—both tariff and nontariff barriers—in both industrial and agricultural products. The United States continued its active role in the Kennedy Round throughout 1965. The examination of lists of industrial items various countries proposed to except from linear tariff reductions continued throughout the year; agricultural offers were tabled in September by most participants; and bilateral discussions with a number of

less developed countries were conducted to determine a basis for their participation in the Kennedy Round. Finally, discussions were initiated to consider specific sectors (e.g., chemicals, steel, textiles). All these measures are necessary preliminaries to the final stages of the Kennedy Round which should be reached in 1966 and 1967.

Another important accomplishment of the GATT in 1965 was its establishment of the Committee on Trade and Development to deal with the trade problems of less developed countries. The Committee itself, whose legal foundation is a new Part IV of the General Agreement which opened for ratification in February 1965 and which will be annexed to the General Agreement, undertook during the year a systematic study of a number of problems of particular interest to developing countries. These studies were conducted by subgroups of the Committee and included such topics as the removal of quantitative restrictions against products of particular interest to less developed countries; the identification of products of export interest to such countries; the pros and cons of preferential trading arrangements, adjustment assistance measures, trade information, and technical assistance; and proposed amendments to the text of the General Agreement on behalf of developing nations. All these efforts are aimed at insuring that developing countries can increasingly find the means to raise standards of living and promote more rapid economic development through participation in international trade and through a sustained growth in export earnings.

The GATT was active in 1965 in a number of other fields of concern to many of its contracting parties. Discussions were held on regional trading arrangements, preferential schemes, and import restrictions imposed by some countries for balance-of-payments reasons, all of which involved the interests of the United States as well as other countries. The United States was granted a waiver of a GATT obligation in connection with implementation of the U.S.-Canadian automotive agreement.

The General Agreement as a whole provides that contracting parties are not permitted to maintain or impose quantitative import restrictions unless they are justified under special circumstances spelled out in the Agreement. With the exception of coal, very few industrial items of significant export interest to the United States remain subject to quantitative restrictions in Western Europe. However, a number of agricultural commodities have not yet been liberalized. The United States has continued to utilize the consultation procedures called for in article XXII of the GATT to remove these restrictions. Following our consultations with Germany during the past 2 years, the United States achieved in 1965 more or less automatic renewal of tenders for U.S. exporters for sales of fresh apples and pears, and



canned cherries; Germany established sizable quotas for dried alfalfa, ice cream mix, and applesauce. Germany also removed certain import licensing arrangements that discriminated against U.S. bourbon. Austria eased some import requirements for fresh apples and pears in 1965. The French have progressively increased import quotas on various items of fresh and canned fruits following our consultation of several years in Geneva and Paris under the general complaint procedures of article XXIII of the GATT.

In addition to actions following the more formal procedures of consultation under articles XXII and XXIII, a number of countries in 1965 eased import restrictions against U.S. products in accord with their general GATT obligations. Denmark and France liberalized certain vegetables, New Zealand liberalized dried fruits; Japan eased restrictions on a variety of vegetables and animal feed; Finland liberalized nuts and certain oils; Chile liberalized frozen chicken, peas, and potatoes; Norway increased import quotas for fresh apples and a few other agricultural commodities.

In other industrial countries, Japan made easier imports of automobiles while Spain, Finland, and Denmark liberalized a number of industrial items of interest to U.S. exporters.

### *Commodity Trade*

The United Nations has long occupied a key position in international action on commodity problems, through the work of its subsidiary bodies and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)—one of its Specialized Agencies—and by reason of certain servicing and coordinating functions vested in the United Nations in the early postwar period. In 1965 this pre-eminent position was enhanced by the establishment of a new Committee on Commodities within the framework of UNCTAD which will seek, under its terms of reference, “to promote general and integrated policies in the commodity field” and coordinate, within limits, the activities of all bodies active in this field. (See page 150).

The United States participates fully in these various activities, both because of its direct interests as a major exporter and importer of primary commodities and because of the growing importance attached to alleviating the trade problems of developing countries, most of whom remain heavily dependent on primary commodities for their export earnings.

During the year a number of meetings were held on individual commodities.

At the request of the International Tin Council, a U.N. Tin Conference was held at U.N. Headquarters, New York, from March 22



to April 14, 1965. The Conference drew up the text of the Third International Tin Agreement, to come into force upon expiration of the 5-year agreement which had been in effect since July 1, 1961. This was the first negotiating conference convened by the United Nations since the establishment of the UNCTAD institutions and it was formally held under the aegis of UNCTAD.

Similarly, a U.N. Sugar Conference, arranged at the request of the International Sugar Council, was held in Geneva from September 20 to October 14, 1965, under the aegis of UNCTAD. The purpose was to negotiate a new International Sugar Agreement to come into force following expiration of the existing agreement on December 31, 1965. The economic provisions of the latter agreement had expired at the end of 1961, leaving in force only those administrative provisions which have maintained the Sugar Council as a forum for discussion and the exchange of information. Since world sugar prices had reached extremely low levels by early 1965, there was strong interest in a new price stabilization agreement. The Conference failed to make any substantial progress towards resolving the issues involved in a new agreement, however. In adjourning, it instructed the Secretary General of UNCTAD to arrange, with the assistance of the Executive Director of the Sugar Council, consultations with governments on the technical and policy issues involved, and to convene a second session of the Conference in the spring of 1966 or as soon thereafter as a successful outcome appears likely. In addition, the Conference adopted a protocol extending the existing agreement for 1 year.

The Secretary General of UNCTAD also convened two meetings during the year of Working Party 1 of the U.N. Cocoa Conference, which had met in 1963 and, failing to reach agreement, had adjourned subject to a similar request that the UNCTAD Secretary General keep the situation under review. The first meeting of the Working Party, in June, reviewed developments since the breakdown of the 1963 negotiations, had a preliminary exchange of views on possible remedies for the unsatisfactory state of the market, and agreed to meet again not later than January 1966 to consider the resumption of negotiations for an International Cocoa Agreement. The second meeting, in October, discussed certain proposals for short-term remedial measures which had been put forward in the UNCTAD Committee on Commodities. It was decided that any remedial measures would have to be considered in the context of a long-term international cocoa agreement.

In addition, there were meetings during the year of the U.N. *Ad Hoc* Committee on Tungsten and of the International Lead and

Zinc Study Group, originally sponsored by the United Nations and still serviced by the UNCTAD Secretariat.

In the agricultural field, the FAO Committee on Commodity Problems (CCP) broadened the scope of its attention to individual commodity problems. *Ad hoc* meetings or meetings of regularly constituted subsidiary bodies were held during the year on grains, rice, cocoa, tea, citrus fruits, fats and oils, and jute, kenaf and allied fibers. The CCP approved a recommendation that its Group on Coconut and Coconut Products be reconstituted as the Study Group on Oilseeds, Oils and Fats, and that it cover in principle all these products but pay particular attention to coconut, ground nut, and palm products. The CCP also established a Study Group on Bananas, upon recommendation of an earlier *ad hoc* meeting on this product.

There are a number of autonomous specialized commodity organizations which are technically outside the U.N. framework but which voluntarily report to, and cooperate with, the U.N. bodies concerned with commodity trade, in particular, the new UNCTAD committee on commodities (see page 150). These groups include study groups on rubber, cotton, and wool, and the commodity councils administering agreements in coffee, sugar, wheat, tin, and olive oil.

### *Economic Commission for Europe (ECE)*

The United States, which is the only nonregional member of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), continued to participate actively in its work during 1965. The United States was represented by a seven-man delegation at the 20th plenary session of the Commission (April 21–May 8) and also participated in the following subsidiary bodies of the Commission: Committee on Agricultural Problems; Coal Committee; Conference of European Statisticians; Electric Power Committee; Gas Committee; Committee on Housing, Building and Planning; Inland Transport Committee; Committee on the Development of Trade; Steel Committee; and Timber Committee. The United States was also represented at some of the sessions of the numerous subcommittees and working groups.

Overall committee activity is directed toward considering measures for raising the level of European economic activity and for strengthening the economic relations of the European countries among themselves and with other countries of the world. The Commission is the only European organization which includes all countries of Europe in its membership. This provides a framework for the systematic examination or confrontation, as the case may be, of the differing economic views and policies of Eastern and Western Europe. While



the Commission may help to build bridges between East and West, its deliberations also reflect the differences between East and West.

The two policy issues that dominated the 20th session of the Commission were the nature of ECE's relation with UNCTAD, and plans for further work in the field of East-West trade. In regard to UNCTAD, the West proposed that ECE undertake only those activities falling within its field of competence, while the East urged that a study be made of the extent to which trade relations of ECE are in accordance with the principles of international trade adopted by UNCTAD. The solution adopted by the Commission, which was in accord with the Western view, was that the ECE should give high priority to those activities falling within the terms of reference of the Commission and its subsidiary bodies with a view to the fulfillment of its tasks related to UNCTAD. In addition, ECE directed its Committee on the Development of Trade to make a detailed study of the recommendations of UNCTAD within the Committee's field of competence and to continue its activities toward implementing these recommendations. When this recommendation came before the 14th session of the Committee (October 18–November 6), the East and West were unable to agree on which UNCTAD recommendations should be selected for study and instead compromised by recommending ways in which the ECE could cooperate with UNCTAD.

With respect to East-West trade, ECE at its 20th session supported continuation of the *Ad Hoc* Group to study problems of East-West trade and requested the Committee on the Development of Trade to indicate to the *Ad Hoc* Group areas where it should concentrate its work. At the Committee meeting the West suggested that the *Ad Hoc* Group continue its studies of selected problems in East-West trade. The East was adamant that the Group be directed immediately to draft recommendations for removing obstacles to East-West trade. No solution was reached, and the issue was in effect deferred to the next plenary session of ECE.

There were fewer political overtones to other substantive issues that came before the 20th session of the Commission. The East made its usual attacks on "sub-regional economic groupings" as barriers to trade, and called for a stepping up of ECE's work on scientific and technical subjects and a greater exchange of scientific and technical information. This was opposed by the West to prevent enlarging the flow of Western technology to the East (except on a strictly *quid pro quo* basis).

An attack on U.S. policy in Viet-Nam came during the debate on the work of the Commission as a whole. All Eastern speakers, including the Soviet Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, condemned what they labeled "U.S. aggression in Viet-Nam" and called for removal of U.S.



troops and weapons and peaceful reunification of the country in line with the Geneva accords. The U.S. Representative, Walter Kotschnig, in his reply repeated President Johnson's offer to meet anywhere, any time, for negotiations without prior conditions and referred to the U.S. offer to spearhead a vast program of economic improvement for Southeast Asia (see pages 99 and 163).

During 1965 the United States participated actively in ECE's work in agriculture, particularly on the standardization of perishable foodstuffs, which will facilitate trade in such commodities. The United States was also represented in the Working Party on the Construction of Motor Vehicles which has been developing international standards for motor vehicle parts, and took part in an ECE group which has been examining problems arising in connection with the use of containers in international trade between the United States and Europe.

Pursuant to an ECOSOC resolution of December 16, 1963, a Committee of Experts and its subsidiary bodies have been working under the auspices of the ECE to harmonize regulations for the transport of dangerous goods. The United States was represented at the Fourth session of the Committee (September 29–October 1) where regulations for classifying, packing, and labeling dangerous goods were reviewed and revisions suggested.

The Conference of European Statisticians has been a major contributor to the work of the U.N. Statistical Commission on making national income and accounts statistics comparable between countries with different economic systems. With respect to the statistical output of the Commission as a whole, the United States and a number of other countries have recommended rationalizing output and reducing the number of statistical questionnaires circulated by the Commission. The October session of the Conference of European Statisticians directed the secretariat to study the question and report to the Conference's next session.

On the basis of reciprocity the United States has contributed data to and participated in a number of economic and technical studies. While this requires a significant output by various domestic agencies, the studies produced provide useful information on the European area not available elsewhere.

The 1965 sessions of the Coal, Steel, and Timber Committees reviewed, *inter alia*, production and market situations in the respective member countries, and the U.S. export potential was made clear. The U.S. Delegate to the Coal Committee, T. Reed Scollon, announced that a coal study tour for the ECE Coal Committee would be held in the United States in 1966. The Committee on Housing, Building and Planning agreed to give greater attention to socioeconomic aspects

of housing problems in its work program, a decision which had strong support from the United States.

### *Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE)*

ECAFE, which has 26 members, includes in its geographic scope the Far East and Asian nations extending from Iran in the west to Japan, Australia, and New Zealand in the east. Indonesia withdrew its membership in 1965 following its withdrawal from the United Nations, while Singapore became a member upon joining the United Nations.

The United States, which participates as one of the nonregional members, joined ECAFE when it was established in 1947 to promote measures for the reconstruction and economic development of postwar Asia.

ECAFE's activities initially developed along three main lines: first, factfinding, research, and analysis; next, recommendations for governmental and intergovernmental action; and, finally, the rendering of advisory services. During the ensuing years ECAFE activities have shifted from study and research to concrete action. The Commission's annual session in 1960 approved a resolution calling for regional cooperation. Subsequently, the Executive Secretary set down basic goals for regional collaboration not only in trade and industry, but also in overall planning, agriculture, transport and communications, water resources development, and other fields. This regional trend was furthered by the first Asian Ministerial Conference on Economic Cooperation convened at Manila in December 1963. Among its recommendations was the early establishment of an Asian Development Bank.

#### **Nam Ngum Dam and Asian Development Bank**

Two major ECAFE projects—the Asian Development Bank and arrangements for financing the Nam Ngum Dam in Laos—came to fruition in 1965. The groundwork for both projects, however, had been carefully laid at ECAFE sessions over more than a decade.

The Nam Ngum Dam project was launched at a special session of the Committee for the Coordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin (Mekong Committee) held May 10 and 11, 1965, in Bangkok. At that meeting, a representative of the President's special assistant on Southeast Asia, Eugene Black, announced that the U.S. President would ask Congress to provide one-half of the funds (approximately \$12.1 million) to build the first stage of the Nam Ngum Dam. On June 1 President Johnson sent a special message to Congress which included a request for these funds. The



dam is to be constructed on a Mekong tributary in Laos under the administration of the World Bank.

Concerted efforts to establish the Asian Development Bank (ADB) began in June 1965 when ECAFE convened the first of several meetings that culminated in the signing of the Bank's charter at a Conference of Plenipotentiaries at Manila on December 4. Eugene Black headed the U.S. delegation to the meeting in June, when he announced the U.S. intention, subject to legislative approval, to subscribe \$200 million of the Bank's proposed \$1 billion capitalization. While the Bank's loan terms will be similar to those offered by the World Bank, its charter permits it to administer special development funds contributed by either member or nonmember countries.

At the Manila Conference in December, 22 participating countries, including the United States, signed the agreement which would remain open for signature until January 31, 1966. ECAFE regional member countries pledged close to \$650 million of the \$1 billion capitalization, including a \$200 million contribution from Japan, \$93 million from India, and \$85 million from Australia.

### Mekong Committee

The Mekong Committee, comprising Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Viet-Nam, operates under the aegis of ECAFE, and maintains its headquarters in Bangkok. The United States has actively supported the Mekong Committee program since the Committee was organized 8 years ago, and gave assistance in 1965 to four general programs involving more than one country—namely, an inventory of physical and social resources of the river and basin areas; a computer-based systems analysis of the river flow; a hydrological spare parts and replacement project; and a feasibility study of a proposed Pa Mong multi-purpose dam on the mainstream of the Mekong River between Laos and Thailand. The Nam Ngum Dam, already mentioned, is the largest Mekong project to which the United States is contributing. There are two other mainstream dams in various planning stages, the Sambor and the Tonle Sap in Cambodia.

### Secretariat Activities

The work of the ECAFE Secretariat in Bangkok is handled by seven functional divisions: research and planning, water resources development, industries, trade, transport and communications, social affairs, and a joint ECAFE/FAO agriculture division. A priority project in its work program is the Asian Highway, which will connect countries in Asia by a direct route from Saigon/Singapore to Ankara via Tehran. In recognition of the importance the ECAFE



countries attach to the Asian Highway, a Coordinating Committee at the ministerial level was established in 1964. The Committee's first session was held at Bangkok in April 1965. The United States, although not a member of the Committee, has supported the concept of the Asian Highway, primarily through bilateral aid to member countries.

### Second Asian Ministerial Conference and Other Meetings

ECAFE convened a second Ministerial Conference on Economic Cooperation at Manila from November 29 to December 1, 1965. Since the meeting was held just prior to the signing of the ADB's charter, its deliberations concerned primarily the plans for the Bank and selection of Manila as the Bank's future site. The Conference also adopted a comprehensive resolution on "dynamic Asian economic cooperation" calling for accelerated ECAFE programs in seven areas: regional harmonization of development plans, regional trade liberalization, industrialization and natural resources development, the Asian Highway, regional telecommunications, typhoon damage control, and demographic problems. The resolution also recommended setting up a study group to examine a regional payments arrangement and the establishment of national shippers' councils that might ultimately lead to a regional shippers' council.

During 1965 the United States participated in all major ECAFE meetings to which it was invited. These included the plenary meeting at Wellington, New Zealand, in March, and the annual meetings of the standing committees on Trade and on Industry and Natural Resources. Other meetings dealt with housing, planning of energy resources, typhoon damage control, inland waterways, the development of petroleum resources, and industrialization. The Asian Conference on Industrialization, which met in December at Manila, recommended the establishment of two new ECAFE bodies, a permanent Asian Conference on Industrialization meeting every 3 years, and an Asian Industrial Development Council. This Conference at Manila was a major attempt of ECAFE countries to examine the problems of industrialization in a coordinated regional effort.

### Economic and Social Development in Southeast Asia

The President, in a speech delivered April 7, 1965, at Johns Hopkins University, proposed an expanded cooperative effort for the accelerated economic and social development of Southeast Asia. He invited the countries of the region to take the initiative in developing cooperative programs and called on the industrialized nations of the world to

join the United States in supporting such efforts for the accelerated development of the area. He also named Eugene Black, former President of the World Bank, as his special adviser for this undertaking and pledged a substantial U.S. investment in support of such a program. He said:

The first step is for the countries of Southeast Asia to associate themselves in a greatly expanded cooperative effort for development . . . .

The United Nations is already actively engaged in development in this area . . . . And I would hope . . . that the Secretary-General of the United Nations could use the prestige of his great office and his deep knowledge of Asia to initiate, as soon as possible, with the countries of that area, a plan for cooperation in increased development.

For our part, I will ask the Congress to join in a billion-dollar American investment in this effort as soon as it is underway . . . .

While the specific proposals in that speech were directed toward Southeast Asia, the United States in 1965 sought to implement the principles underlying that speech in a broader, regional framework. From this speech came the decision to respond to Asian initiatives by joining the Asian Development Bank as a capital subscriber. It also led to increased U.S. support for such ECAFE-sponsored activities as the Mekong River development.

After the President's speech the riparian countries of the Mekong Committee outlined a preliminary plan for the comprehensive development of the Lower Mekong Basin. Their decision to ask for financing of the Nam Ngum Dam in Laos was a major example of Asian response to the President's pledge of support for Southeast Asian development.

### *Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)*

As a member of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) the United States participated in the Commission's biennial plenary session in Mexico City, May 6-17, 1965. ECLA has been a leader in working toward economic integration of the region and, accordingly, the session was mainly devoted to the analysis and discussion of the progress of the two regional integration movements—the Central American Common Market (CACM) and the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA). Pursuant to one of the resolutions adopted by the session, ECLA subsequently convened a special meeting of governmental experts on economic integration at Santiago, September 27-October 4, 1965, which was restricted to representatives from Latin American countries and to a few representatives from international agencies doing work related to Latin American integration.

ECLA cooperated with other U.N. organizations in conducting two important conferences: the Conference on the Application of Science and Technology to the Development of Latin America, which was organized jointly with UNESCO and held at Santiago in September 1965, and the Latin American Conference on Children and Youth in National Development, held under the joint sponsorship of ECLA, the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning, and UNICEF at ECLA's headquarters in Santiago. At the latter meeting, recommendations to Latin American governments were agreed upon for improving mother and child care programs. The United States sent delegations to both conferences.

Within its regular program of activities, ECLA prepared various studies and documents on economic integration. It issued the *Economic Survey of Latin America, 1964*, one of the best sources of economic and statistical information on the region. Another published study dealt with the evolution, present state, and prospects of transport in the region. Other studies were carried forward on development problems in electric power, industrialization, and agriculture.

The ECLA Secretariat continues to work closely with the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning, which conducts seminars and intensive training courses at the request of governments and offers regular courses for Latin American students in programing and planning for economic and social development.

### *Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)*

The United States continued during 1965 to give active support and encouragement to the various programs carried on by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), which is playing a major role in fostering economic cooperation and development on the African Continent. Although the United States is not a member of ECA, we maintain a full-time liaison officer for work with the secretariat in Addis Ababa, attend the more important ECA meetings, and provide some technical experts at its request.

The major development in 1965 was the decision of Eastern African governments to establish an Economic Community of Eastern Africa. At a conference convened by ECA at Lusaka, Zambia, October 26 to November 4, 1965, representatives of Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia unanimously adopted a resolution recommending to their governments the establishment of an Economic Community. The Malagasy Republic and Somalia were not present but were expected to participate, as well as Mauritius. The Community would also hope to include Southern



Rhodesia when political conditions permit. The U.S. Observer at the Lusaka Meeting, William Kling, congratulated the delegates on their decision, saying, "Such cooperation makes possible the efficient utilization of resources by a division of labor among the participating states and is important in raising the living standards of the people. A great by-product too of such cooperation is amity that leads to African unity and to world peace." He stated further that "We will want to know how U.S. programs can advance economic development under the new Community."

ECA plans to hold three conferences during 1966 in West Africa, Central Africa, and North Africa with the same objective of furthering regional economic cooperation. The Commission already has subregional offices at Lusaka, Léopoldville, Niamey, and Tangier to carry out its subregional program.

The United States attended the ECA seventh plenary meeting at Nairobi, February 9-23, 1965. At that meeting, the Honorable Samuel Z. Westerfield, U.S. Observer, paid tribute to ECA's leadership in "strengthening African unity and furthering economic development through concrete problems."

The delegates to the plenary, in addressing themselves to the problems of social and economic development for Africa, came to grips with various specific problems, including the reorganization of the Commission. At the suggestion of its Secretariat, the Commission decided to hold plenary sessions every 2 years instead of each year. All standing committees were abolished and replaced by working parties, each to be composed of technicians from 10 African countries who will serve as technical experts rather than representatives of their countries. The working parties will cover: (1) intra-African trade, (2) monetary management and intra-African payments, (3) industry and natural resources, (4) transport and telecommunications, (5) agriculture, (6) manpower and training, and (7) economic integration. The working parties will hold their first meetings in 1966.

ECA, like the other regional economic commissions of the United Nations, was originally set up by ECOSOC primarily as an advisory, study, and consultative body. One of the recurrent themes at the seventh plenary session, however, was that ECA had passed the stage of studies and recommendations and should now concentrate on finding practical measures for regional economic cooperation.

The seventh plenary session also devoted considerable attention to ECA's efforts to establish subregional cooperation. In 1964 the ECA had convened major conferences on industrial coordination in West Africa and in North Africa. The Lusaka Conference in 1965 and the other subregional conferences to be held in 1966 are in response to a

plenary resolution calling for regional integration at a subregional level.

In its ongoing programs, the ECA Secretariat in 1965 placed emphasis on manpower planning, training, and telecommunications. Nine training courses and seminars in statistics, public administration, and economic planning were held during the year. The Commission also obtained grants from donor countries to carry out surveys and studies in the subregions. ECA and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) signed an agreement in November outlining their respective roles.

One of ECA's most notable achievements is its sponsorship of the African Development Bank, now an autonomous institution at Abidjan. Another institution created by ECA efforts is the Institute for Economic Development and Planning at Dakar, Senegal.

Besides participating in the seventh plenary session at Nairobi in February and the Lusaka Conference, the United States was represented by observer delegates at the Meeting of Experts on Common Centers for Specialized Services in Surveying and Mapping at Addis Ababa in July and at the fourth session of the Conference of African Statisticians at Addis Ababa in November.

### *Technical Cooperation*

The United Nations system provides technical cooperation and assistance for the economic and social development of the world community through a variety of mechanisms, including the Specialized Agencies, the voluntary programs, and the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the U.N. Secretariat.

Two of the most important programs—both funded by voluntary contributions—have been the Special Fund and the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA). Under EPTA, assistance is given to governments in formulating national development plans, in building effective governmental administration machinery, and in a number of other fields, including health, education, agricultural and industrial production, power, transportation, and communications. The Special Fund engages in preinvestment assistance intended to lay the groundwork for further investment. Its projects are generally broader in scope than those of EPTA and include such activities as surveys of natural resources and industrial feasibility studies, applied research to meet differing technological requirements, training of skilled manpower in key industries, and economic development planning. These two programs received a total of \$156 million in payments, contributions, and pledges in 1965.

The most significant development in the technical assistance field during 1965—and one urged by the United States since 1961—was

the approval by the General Assembly on November 22 of the merger, effective January 1, 1966, of the Special Fund and EPTA into the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). The resolution, approved by a vote of 98 to 0, with 9 abstentions, affirmed the Assembly's belief that the consolidation would help to streamline activities, simplify organizational procedures, and increase the effectiveness of the existing assistance programs while retaining their special characteristics and operations.

The UNDP will be headed by an Administrator (Paul Hoffman, formerly Managing Director of the Special Fund) and a Co-Administrator (David Owen, formerly Executive Chairman of EPTA's Technical Assistance Board).

An Inter-Agency Consultative Board composed of the heads of the participating Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency will advise the UNDP and will be chaired by the Administrator or Co-Administrator. It will replace the Special Fund's Consultative Board and EPTA's Technical Assistance Board.

At the intergovernmental level, a 37-member Governing Council, replacing the Special Fund's Governing Council and EPTA's Technical Assistance Committee, will provide policy guidance, approve projects, and allocate funds. The Council will consist of 19 members from developing countries, 17 from developed countries (including three from Eastern European countries), and one serving on a rotating basis.

### *United Nations Capital Development Fund*

The question of the establishment of a U.N. capital development fund remained an issue within the United Nations during 1965. Consideration of the issue culminated in passage by the General Assembly on December 8, by a vote of 60 to 8 (U.S.), with 11 abstentions, of a resolution which (1) reaffirms the need for an extension of U.N. economic assistance to investment in developing countries, (2) urges the advanced countries to accelerate the commencement of a U.N. capital development fund, (3) requests the Governing Council of the U.N. Development Program (UNDP) to consider ways and means of implementing the resolution of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) that seeks the gradual transformation of the U.N. Special Fund into a capital lending fund, and (4) invites the Secretary-General to undertake consultations with member states regarding additional resources which should be obtained through voluntary contributions with a view to beginning investment activities.



The resolution also extends the mandate of the existing U.N. Committee on a Capital Development Fund, instructs it to renew its efforts to draft a statute for the capital development fund, and requests it to report in 1966 to the 41st session of the Economic and Social Council and, with the Council's comments, to the 21st General Assembly.

The United States voted against this resolution. During the discussion in the Second (Economic and Financial) Committee, the U.S. Representative, James Roosevelt, stated that financial conditions for establishment of the fund had not been met, that existing resources of the UNDP should not be diverted from the important work of preinvestment, and that the international community should use the facilities it has for capital investment rather than creating new and duplicating facilities.

The United States has long maintained that it would be wasteful and undesirable to establish such a fund either as a new institution or through a transformation of the Special Fund. It has repeatedly pointed out in U.N. forums that capital financing on soft terms is now being undertaken by the International Development Association (IDA) with resources far beyond those which the Special Fund could reasonably hope to obtain for such purposes, and that the IDA stands ready to accept and effectively utilize special contributions from its members. The newly merged U.N. Development Program, the United States has emphasized, can render its greatest service by concentrating on preinvestment, where it has a unique and valuable role to play.

## *Industrial Development*

### **U.N. Organization for Industrial Development (UNOID)**

In response to the strong desire of developing countries for an expanded effort in the field of industrial development, the General Assembly on December 20, 1965, adopted unanimously a resolution for the establishment of a U.N. Organization for Industrial Development (UNOID), which will operate "within the United Nations as an autonomous organization for the promotion of industrial development." The resolution called for establishment of an Industrial Development Board as the principal organ of UNOID, and a secretariat to be headed by an Executive Director appointed by the U.N. Secretary-General. UNOID's administrative and

research activities will be financed from the U.N. regular budget, but its operational activities will be financed by voluntary contributions and through participation in the U.N. Development Program.

The resolution also called for the convening of an *Ad Hoc* Committee composed of 36 states members of the United Nations and members of the specialized agencies and of the International Atomic Energy Agency, chosen by the General Assembly, "to prepare the necessary operating procedures and administrative arrangements of the organization."

On December 21 the General Assembly appointed the following states to the *Ad Hoc* Committee: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chad, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Germany (Federal Republic of ), Guinea, India, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Libya, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanzania, Thailand, Tunisia, Uganda, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia.

The Committee was to meet in 1966 and report to the U.N. Committee for Industrial Development (CID), the Economic and Social Council, and the General Assembly. It is hoped that the Committee's recommendations will provide for an effective action-oriented organization that will make significant contributions to the accelerated industrialization of the developing countries.

During the General Assembly debate on the resolution James Roosevelt, U.S. Representative to the Economic and Social Council, expressed the U.S. position on the new organization and the opportunity it has as follows:

This draft resolution . . . is an outstanding example of the progress which can be made on important questions related to economic development when there is a will on the part of developing and developed countries to move forward and take practical steps.

The decision to establish UNOID was a compromise between those delegations that supported the creation of a new specialized agency for industrial development and those delegations that felt that additional efforts to assist the developing countries in the field of industrialization should build upon the existing U.N. machinery. The U.N. Center for Industrial Development, which will be absorbed by UNOID, has been responsible for the U.N. work in this field.

UNOID is expected to become fully operational in 1967, after detailed operational and organizational questions have been worked out by the Committee of 36 and approved by the General Assembly.

## Other Activities

During the year the CID and the U.N. Center for Industrial Development continued their preparations for an international symposium on industrial development which would bring together the results of several planned regional symposia. The first of the regional meetings was held in December 1965 in Manila by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE—see page 162).

The Center for Industrial Development also participated with the U.N. Secretary-General in the preparation of a program of "special industrial services" designed to fill gaps in the services in the field of industry offered by the Center and other organizations of the U.N. system. These services were made part of the resolution establishing UNOID. A number of developed countries, including the United States, either made special contributions to the U.N. Secretary-General or made part of their contributions to the U.N. Development Program available for execution of these services. Insofar as the United States was concerned, \$2 million of our total pledge for 1966 was for this purpose.

## SOCIAL COOPERATION

### *Social Development*

The term "social development" covers a broad spectrum of activities in health and nutrition, labor standards, education, vocational training, housing and urban development, and social welfare. The division of work within the United Nations places responsibility for the initiation and development of overall social development policy and programs in the Social Commission, whose work is reviewed by the Economic and Social Council and by the Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee of the General Assembly. Programs in this area are also carried out by a number of other U.N. organs: such specialized agencies as the World Health Organization, the International Labor Organization, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; and such special bodies as the United Nations Children's Fund and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees. Specific aspects of social policy are the concern of the Population Commission, the Human Rights Commission, the Commission on the Status of Women, and the Narcotic Drugs Commission.

The United States is directly represented in all of these bodies and continued during 1965 to maintain its role of leadership in speeding



up the process of development through initiation and support of U.N. social programs which contribute to the total development process.

## *Social Planning*

### **Social Commission**

The Social Commission held its 16th session from May 3 to 19, 1965, in New York, and since it had not met in 1964, it had a heavy agenda. Several significant developments marked the Commission's deliberations.

#### PROPOSED REVISION OF TERMS OF REFERENCE

Representatives of some of the developing countries expressed concern that the Commission was not fully responsive to changes in the world social situation and the resulting social needs of member states. At the 1965 session a resolution was adopted unanimously and later approved by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) providing that the Social Commission at its next session should reexamine its role within the framework of the United Nations to meet the challenge of rapidly changing social conditions throughout the world. The resolution also requested the Secretariat to resubmit a questionnaire to determine the needs of member states in the social fields, the priority to be given various needs, and the possibilities of increased technical assistance. The United States supported this proposal, calling attention to its longtime interest in increasing the effectiveness of the U.N. social development programs.

#### PROBLEMS OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

Recognizing that many social and economic problems result from the excessive migration from rural areas to the cities, the U.S. delegation introduced a draft resolution that proposed a research and training program, in connection with regional development projects, which would develop means to improve patterns of human settlement. In her statement presenting the draft, which was cosponsored by Argentina, Uganda, and the United Arab Republic, Mrs. Edison Dick, the U.S. Representative to the Social Commission, said:

. . . We must come to grips with the problems caused by the extraordinary growth in the size of the biggest cities and the tendency of the rural population, in country after country, to stream out of the villages into the cities long before the cities are ready to receive them or a modernized agriculture is ready to give them up. (World population grows by two percent a year, the cities grow by four percent. . . .) Into vast urban conglomerations move the jobless, destitute rural poor, to squat as best they may, to seek for non-existent jobs, and to build

up, at the core or in rings of rural slums, festering centers of misery and despair. A very large part of the world's worst social problems are centered among these peoples. It follows that if any measures could be taken to reduce the flow to manageable proportions, or divert it away from the greatest cities, possibly the greatest single cause of human misery would have been countered, one of mankind's most dynamically growing evils checked.

An integral part of the proposed program will be the training of personnel in methods and techniques to assist countries in achieving optimum patterns of rural and urban settlement. It is anticipated that the country studies will identify programs of planned social and economic adjustment that can promote increased productivity in both the cities and the countryside. The end purpose of the project is, through research and training, to help minimize the undesirable effects of overcentralization of population by taking advantage of the experience and current operations of ongoing regional development projects. In this sense it will be an action program in the field rather than an abstract academic research study done at Headquarters, thus answering a criticism of present U.N. social programs expressed frequently at the Commission.

Briefly, the resolution requests the Secretary-General to select a reasonable number of regional development projects under way in various parts of the world that reflect different stages of development and are suitable for carrying out the proposed research and training activities. Particular attention should be given to the availability of a university or similar institution as a resource for the program in each selected project. A draft practical action program will be prepared by the Secretary-General, obtaining the views of all appropriate organizations of the United Nations, and a report on the proposed program will be submitted to the next session of the Social Commission. The resolution was adopted unanimously by the Commission and was strongly endorsed and approved by the Economic and Social Council.

#### U.N. RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The Progress Report of the U.N. Research Institute for Social Development, established with a contribution from the Netherlands Government of \$1 million, was received most favorably by the Social Commission. The U.S. Delegate complimented the Institute on its activities and noted particularly the importance of the work it was doing on motivation for development. A resolution introduced by Argentina and Uruguay commending the work of the Institute and requesting the Board of Directors to explore possibilities of obtaining additional funds was adopted unanimously.

## PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS

Another important resolution initiated by the Social Commission and approved by the Economic and Social Council endorsed the merit of convening under U.N. auspices an international conference of Ministers and their senior officials responsible for social welfare, and requested the Secretariat to consult member governments and the Specialized Agencies on the appropriateness of such a conference and on the subjects to be placed on the agenda.

The United States actively supported this proposal, believing that such a conference would permit a comprehensive exchange of views by policy-level welfare administrators from around the world, and would provide an opportunity for the examination of regional and national variations in approaches to social welfare as well as the identification of common elements. It would also furnish an opportunity to clarify the role of social welfare in the overall economic and social development process, and would focus attention on ways of maximizing the contribution of social welfare to human development.

The resolution, which was cosponsored by Argentina, Iraq, and Uganda, gave rise to some controversy. France, the East European, and a few other countries, for different reasons, objected to such a conference, but after some changes of language to achieve a compromise, it was adopted by a vote of 11 (U.S.) to 1, with 7 abstentions. A report on the results of the consultations called for by the resolution will be submitted to the Social Commission and ECOSOC in 1966.

## SOCIAL ALLOCATIONS AND TARGETS

The Social Commission considered reports on methods of determining social allocations and on social targets for development for the second half of the Development Decade. Though these reports constituted one of the major items on the agenda, the Commission's consideration of them was complicated by the unfortunate delay in the distribution of the documentation. For a variety of reasons, these reports were not well received by many delegations, although most of the representatives from developed countries found them of considerable value. The debate was marked by intense criticism of the Secretariat for the lateness of distribution of these reports, and some delegations felt that they were overly academic and did not provide realistic guidance for the developing countries.

This difficult situation was taken into account by ECOSOC when it considered the Report of the Social Commission. ECOSOC requested the Secretary-General to prepare further studies of these questions and, in this connection, to provide for participation by the U.N. Research Institute for Social Development and the U.N.



Economic Projections and Programming Center as well as by experts representing countries with different social and economic systems. A further report from the Secretariat on these studies is to be submitted to the Social Commission at its session in 1967.

#### SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES

The Commission devoted considerable attention at its 1965 session to social welfare services. A U.S.-sponsored resolution approved at the Commission's 1963 session had established an *ad hoc* group on social welfare. This expert group, which included an American, Dr. Ellen Winston, Commissioner of Welfare, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, met immediately prior to the 1965 Commission session, examined several highly technical reports concerned with social welfare, and reported its findings to the Commission. As a direct result of its work, three separate substantive resolutions were adopted by the Social Commission and the Economic and Social Council on family, child, and youth welfare services, a reappraisal of the U.N. social service program, and the training of social welfare personnel. The United States, which has traditionally provided leadership in the field of social welfare services, played an active role in the formulation and adoption of these resolutions.

In considering the Secretary-General's report on the establishment and extension of family, child, and youth welfare service, the Commission stressed the desirability of integrating social planning—including social welfare services—with overall planning. The guidelines contained in the report were revised and improved by the *ad hoc* working group and had the general support of many of the delegations on the Commission. These guidelines lay greater emphasis on the role of social welfare in rural areas and the need for social welfare services in changing the role and status of women.

#### COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

In connection with the agenda item on community development the Commission discussed two notes by the Secretary-General: one on the impact of land reform on economic and social development and the other on the World Land Reform Conference scheduled for 1966. In general the debate on this item was noncontroversial. The U.S.S.R. and several other East European countries complained, however, that land reform was an important subject in its own right and should not merely be a part of community development in the U.N. program. On the other hand, since, in fact, the Food and Agriculture Organization and other U.N. bodies have responsibility for other aspects of land reform, the U.S. view, with which many members of the Social Commission agree, is that the Commission

should focus its attention on the aspect that is its primary responsibility, i.e., community development.

All the Commission members enthusiastically supported the forthcoming World Land Reform Conference. The only major issue arose as a result of a resolution sponsored by Czechoslovakia, Uganda, and the United Arab Republic, which had as its only significant objective a request to the Secretary-General "to invite all countries interested to participate in the World Land Reform Conference," and the further request to "governments of all countries to take an active part in the preparations for and the deliberations of the World Land Reform Conference." The French Representative introduced an amendment to change these references to the standard U.N. formula of "members of the United Nations or the specialized agencies." A rollcall vote was requested by the Cuban Representative on the French amendment and the results were 11 (Argentina, Austria, Denmark, France, Gabon, Honduras, Malaysia, Tunisia, U.K., U.S., Uruguay) to 9 (Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Iraq, Mali, Uganda, U.S.S.R., U.A.R.), with 1 (Mauritania) absent. The resolution as amended was then adopted unanimously.

### Regional Activities

The regional economic commissions discussed a number of social planning matters at their 1965 annual sessions. The seventh session of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) held in February considered the following subjects: social development, literacy and development, housing, public administration, demography, and education and training. The ECA Secretariat reported that its Social Development Section had been reorganized into three units: (1) Social Welfare, (2) Rural Life and Institutions, and (3) Social Investigations. It is hoped that the reorganization will not only afford a more rational handling of economic and social planning but will also introduce a closer link between research and operational activities.

The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East met in April and gave special attention to the social aspects of economic development. It was the first time that a special paper reviewing the social situation in the region had been presented as a Commission document. The U.S. Delegate spoke on three main points of this paper—population, social planning, and motivation for development. There were extensive comments by most delegations on family planning and population growth problems. The U.S. Delegate cited President Johnson's state of the Union remarks on this subject and outlined our new policy of assistance to governments requesting aid in dealing with population problems.

In May the Economic Commission for Latin America held its 11th session in Mexico City. The United States sponsored a resolution authorizing the Commission to cosponsor with UNESCO the Conference of Ministries of Education and Planning and recommending that the educational aspects of social and economic development be considered at that meeting. In his report, the President of the Board of Governors of the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning emphasized the importance of social factors in all phases of economic development, a concept long and actively supported by the United States. All of these regional activities are in accord with U.S. policies and positions on the role of the United Nations in promoting international social development.

### *Advisory Social Welfare Services*

The U.N. Advisory Social Welfare Services program, now completing 20 years of technical assistance to governments, has provided services to almost every country in the world. Through its social welfare experts, fellowships and scholarships, regional seminars and workshops, and technical literature, it has stimulated a highly productive exchange of technical skills and knowledge in social welfare including family and child welfare, community organization, administration and research, social work education, community development, rehabilitation, social defense, and social aspects of housing. Established in 1946 on an emergency basis, the program was placed on a continuing basis in 1950. In recent years, about \$2 million has been devoted annually to this activity.

The Advisory Social Welfare Services program was considerably strengthened by the work of the U.N. *Ad Hoc* Working Group on Social Welfare and the 16th session of the U.N. Social Commission which met at U.N. Headquarters May 3-19, 1965. The potential contributions of social welfare programs and services to the solution of problems created by rapid social change, such as population growth, family mobility, and large-scale migration, were identified and guidelines for establishment of family, child, and youth welfare services, and the training of personnel in these fields were developed.

During 1965 there were 56 U.N. fellows from 30 different countries studying and observing social work teaching and practice in the United States. Most of the fellows were experienced social welfare personnel who had completed the training available in their own country and had some years of practice. Many had worked with U.N. consultants in their home countries, and thus came to the United States well prepared for advanced training. For example, there were social welfare administrators from the Netherlands and Israel, social



planning experts from the United Arab Republic and Pakistan, and community organizers from Switzerland and Turkey.

Schools of social work in Ethiopia, Pakistan, Iran, and the Netherlands sent selected professors for advanced training in new methods of practice and of teaching. Experienced supervisors came from Chile, Bolivia, and Cyprus to study new methods in supervision. Social welfare workers came from Southern Rhodesia, where changes in government welfare structures were taking place, and from Mexico. Growing interest in methods of preventing and treating juvenile delinquency and in all aspects of child welfare brought social workers from Indonesia, Lebanon, and the Republic of China.

Municipal and state planning organizations in the United States provided new training resources for fellows coming from economic and social planning agencies in their own countries. Community action, retraining for jobs, and consumer education programs at local and national level were of deep interest to some U.N. fellows because they saw the applicability of this approach to welfare needs at home. The program in many communities was enriched by the National Council for Community Services to International Visitors (COSERV), which supplemented the study programs by planning hospitality, purposeful sightseeing, and cultural contacts for the U.N. fellows.

The U.N. technical assistance advisory services depend on the caliber of personnel recruited from its member nations. The United States has made intensive effort to recruit the most highly qualified individuals in social welfare to serve as advisers. In 1965 there were 14 Americans among the total 54 technical advisers in Community Development and Social Welfare, important segments of the total Advisory Services program. The high percentage of Americans selected by countries testifies that basic U.S. social work techniques and programs are adaptable and valid for meeting social needs in other countries.

An American child welfare specialist has been serving as the U.N. adviser in the Philippines on a UNICEF-aided project to improve the care of homeless children. A former faculty member from a U.S. school of social work is working with the Haile Selassie University in Addis Ababa to establish a school of social work which will have students not only from Ethiopia but the entire region. A Puerto Rican social worker served in Colombia as an adviser to the Government on problems of juvenile delinquency. Since training in the Asian countries has been hindered by the lack of teaching materials, a project was designed and financed by ECAFE to meet this need. It is being carried out by an American social worker.

The interest of African countries in social services and community development is evidenced by their use of the Advisory Social Welfare

Services program. In 1965 a U.N. social welfare adviser was assigned to Liberia and social work training and social defense specialists to Cameroon and the Ivory Coast. Morocco and Niger have had U.N. advisers in community development. Togo has had both an expert and fellowships in social welfare training. In Tunisia the emphasis has been on family and child welfare where an expert has given continuing advice. Other African countries with long established social service programs continued to use specialists. In the United Arab Republic, for example, an expert on recreational activities is assigned and fellowships have been used for social planning and study of cooperatives.

Advisory Social Welfare Services are available on a regional basis for problems of common interest; thus, in the Americas in 1965 there were regional seminars on community development and planning, population studies, and training of senior social welfare personnel. In Asia and the Far East, a regional adviser on community development and social welfare was available for the South Pacific area. An Institute for the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders was sponsored for heads of correction departments, prisons, and penitentiaries of countries in Asia and the Far East.

The European region makes productive use of the Advisory Social Welfare Services, most of the countries concerned bearing a large share of the costs with the United Nations providing only facilitative and consultant services. As an illustration, the European social welfare program established in 1965 a network of national correspondents in social research which will make available to participating European institutions and agencies the results of studies undertaken in various fields of social welfare. The effort is to approach research projects of common interest or to compare findings from the different research institutions.

An interregional meeting of Directors of Senior Staff of Institutions of Criminology in Developing Countries took place July 18–August 7, 1965, in Copenhagen, followed by a study tour of criminal research institutions in Norway and Sweden. Thirty-four specialists in the rehabilitation of the disabled from 24 different countries took part in the U.N. Study Tour on Rehabilitation Facilities in Poland during September 1965.

An interesting new development in the Advisory Social Welfare Services is the increased emphasis on services for youth. An *Ad Hoc* Inter-Agency Meeting on Youth took place at U.N. Headquarters in April 1965, and was attended by representatives of the Specialized Agencies. A U.N. interregional adviser on youth was subsequently appointed and has since been providing services in Africa and Asia. A key point in the new youth programs will be the training of leaders,



and special attention is being given to the needs of women and girls. The entire effort is directed toward creating favorable conditions for youth, providing opportunities for employment and service to the community, and preparing young people to make use of such opportunities.

### *Social Defense Activities*

The Third United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders was held in Stockholm, Sweden, August 8-18, 1965. The United States was represented by a 24-man delegation, chaired by the Honorable Thurgood Marshall, Solicitor General, which included Members of the U.S. Congress, and Federal, State, and local officials, as well as representatives of nongovernmental agencies concerned with some aspect of the prevention and treatment of juvenile and adult crime.

Approximately 1,500 participants from 80 countries and territories attended the Congress. The subjects on the agenda, each covered by a panel session, were social change and criminality, social forces and the prevention of criminality, community preventive actions, measures to combat recidivism, probation and other noninstitutional measures, special preventive and treatment measures for young adults, and a general meeting on research. A number of Americans took an active part as panel members or rapporteurs.

It was of particular interest to the U.S. delegation to note the increasing emphasis given to preventive activities, to the need for improved social and economic conditions in the fight against delinquency and crime, and to the community aspects of treatment, such as probation and parole, as opposed to the more traditional institutional forms of dealing with offenders, such as prisons. Throughout the discussions there was insistence on the evaluation of existing programs, on research to point the way to more effective programs, and on personnel training.

The Chairman of the U.S. delegation, Thurgood Marshall, was one of the four lecturers invited by the United Nations to address special plenary sessions of the Congress. In his address on "The Challenge of Fair and Effective Criminal Administration" he said:

In describing the steps which we have taken in the United States to deal with some of the problems in the criminal field, I do so not with the notion that we have found a perfect answer to any of the vexing questions in this field. I do so rather to show the ferment and concern in my country in the effort to find appropriate solutions. I feel the problems of criminal behavior will be with us as long as men continue to live together in an organized society. I am hopeful that some of the broad social changes now taking place in the United States—particularly the direct onslaught on racial discrimination and poverty—will



make marked inroads in the conditions which underlie criminal behavior. But many of the challenges of criminal behavior must be met head-on by seeking to improve preventive efforts and the enforcement and administration of criminal laws and to provide fair and effective methods of dealing with those who do violate our laws.

The U.S. delegation gained insight into the operation of programs for the prevention and treatment of crime in other countries which should contribute to the further development of our own programs. At the same time, it was apparent that the U.S. delegation, which included well-known specialists in the subjects on the agenda, contributed to the Congress' suggestions arising out of the innovative practices in the United States which might be of benefit both to developing and developed nations. In this connection, the U.S. delegation distributed copies of some 10 pamphlets describing American practices in various problem areas which might be adapted to the needs of other countries.

Subsequent to the Congress, the U.S. participants have given wide publicity to the proceedings, including the printing and distribution of several hundred copies of the rapporteurs' summaries of the discussions of the agenda topics. They have also discussed the Congress' program before different national associations and have written articles on it for a number of professional journals.

The organizational arrangements for carrying out the U.N. social defense program were changed in 1965 on the basis of an assessment of existing arrangements prepared by the Secretary-General for consideration by the Social Commission. The Secretary-General recommended reunification at U.N. Headquarters of the two social defense units located in New York and Geneva, retaining only a single liaison officer in Geneva. He also proposed increasing the Advisory Committee of Experts from 7 to 10 members and changing it from an *ad hoc* to a continuing committee. In addition, he proposed the establishment of a funds-in-trust account to enable both member countries and interested nongovernmental organizations to make special contributions to the United Nations to strengthen its work in the field of social defense. The Secretary-General reported his conclusion that there was insufficient support among member governments for the establishment of an Institute on the Prevention of Crime as recommended in the 1964 report of his special consultant Torsten Eriksson, Director-General of the Swedish National Prisons Board.

The Social Commission's discussion revealed many divergent views on the Secretary-General's proposals. The East European countries reiterated their often expressed view that the social defense program is mainly concerned with legal questions and should not be a part of the responsibilities of the Bureau of Social Affairs. The United

Kingdom and Uruguay took exception to this point of view so effectively that the Soviet Delegate modified her position to some extent. The French Delegate, supported by several others, expressed reservations about the funds-in-trust arrangement, and strongly advocated reunification of the social defense units in Geneva rather than in New York. The Director of the Bureau of Social Affairs, however, stated that the location of the social defense unit was a matter for the Secretary-General to decide as part of his administrative responsibilities.

A resolution submitted by Denmark and Uruguay which called for strengthening the U.N. social defense program, and supported the Secretary-General's proposals on the Advisory Committee and establishment of the funds-in-trust account, was adopted with some drafting amendments by a vote of 13 (U.S.) to 0, with 7 abstentions.

Myrl E. Alexander, Director, Federal Bureau of Prisons, was appointed by the United Nations to the 10-member Advisory Committee which will make preparations for the U.N. Consultative Group meeting to be held in Geneva in 1967, and for the fourth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders to be held in Tokyo in 1970.

### *Housing, Building, and Planning*

The world housing situation has not improved during the first half of the United Nations Development Decade but rather has continued to deteriorate, qualitatively and quantitatively. Although industrialized countries generally are making progress in alleviating housing problems, builders in the less developed countries drop further and further behind in their race against population growth. The growing seriousness of this situation, however, is accompanied by increasing awareness throughout the world of the social, economic, and political importance of housing and appropriate urban development. For instance, world conferences in 1965 on two disparate problems—crime and population—both singled out housing conditions as critical areas of concern or causality.

#### **Committee on Housing, Building and Planning**

To plan the attack on housing problems, ECOSOC's Committee on Housing, Building and Planning held its third session in New York, September 7-20, 1965. At that meeting James A. Moore, Assistant Administrator of the Housing, Home and Finance Agency and Chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Committee, noted in his opening statement the worsening global housing situation and expressed the view that:

. . . there is prospect for a change for the better as developing countries increase per capita income, turn to more effective housing and urban programs and as many countries begin to grapple with population policy. Hence the goals set by this Committee may have chance of fulfillment in the next generation, although not in this one.

A major instrument for fulfillment—strongly endorsed by the United States—is the newly established U.N. Center for Housing, Building and Planning. The purpose of this Center is to provide central guidance on housing matters for the U.N. Secretariat, the Specialized Agencies, and the regional economic commissions. As necessary, the Center will also undertake or promote studies on social, economic or technical aspects of urban problems. The United States supported the establishment of the Center both in ECOSOC and in the previous session of the Committee on Housing. At the third session Mr. Moore stated that the most important consideration for the Committee was that of staffing the Center. Without adequate staffing the Center would be hampered in its efforts to ameliorate the grave housing problems in the developing countries. With this in mind, the United States cosponsored a resolution urging allocation of the full complement of staff provided for in the Secretary-General's budget and assignment of additional resources in 1967 and beyond in accordance with the high priority of the Center's work.

During the Committee session, the work program of the Center was first considered by a working group of 15 members. This arrangement proved unwieldy, however, and at the suggestion of the U.S. delegation, a small drafting group of five countries (Nigeria, Pakistan, Romania, U.S.S.R., U.S.) was created to produce specific recommendations for Committee consideration. With the support of the Pakistani Delegate, the U.S. delegation succeeded in placing strong emphasis on the planning portions of the work program. It is this portion that deals with urbanization, land problems, and urban organization—areas which in the past have been subordinated to technical aspects of housing. This emphasis has resulted in a more realistic listing of programs in terms of their importance.

Another item at the session of particular interest to the United States was the recommendation by the Secretary-General that an *ad hoc* meeting of experts be convened by the Secretary-General on the financing of housing and community facilities. This group of experts would comprise persons with experience in national and international finance, in housing and community facilities in developing countries, and in the financing of such facilities. The United States considers that there is a legitimate and promising scope for such a group, which could provide objective appraisal and advice helpful to the United Nations.



The Committee discussed in plenary a draft resolution submitted by the Delegates of Canada, Denmark, Ghana, Israel, Japan, and the United States which recommended the formation of the *ad hoc* group, provided terms of reference for its guidance, and, in an annex, made recommendations to developing countries on principles and considerations that should apply in each country. Romania and the U.S.S.R. opposed the terms of reference, presumably because they were too strongly oriented toward private finance. After considerable discussion, general agreement was reached that no resolution would be passed, but that the Committee report to ECOSOC would clearly indicate the Committee's support for an *ad hoc* group and would request ECOSOC to establish the terms of reference.

The third topic of particular significance to the United States at the Committee session was the proposed creation of an "International Institute for Documentation on Housing, Building and Planning."

That proposal had been discussed, with wide support at the second session of the Committee, and the Secretary-General had been requested to examine the feasibility of setting up such an institute. In the period between the second and third sessions the Government of Italy had offered substantial host facilities for the proposed institute and also agreed to contribute the initial funds for the maintenance of the building and other support for professional and clerical staff, services, and supplies. The Italian delegation to the Committee on Housing proposed a resolution asking the Economic and Social Council to "approve in principle" the establishment of the institute and requesting the Secretary-General to conduct further discussion on support and funding. The United States was a cosponsor of the resolution.

An effort was made to enlarge the scope of the proposed institute to include research activities. The U.S., U.K., and Canadian delegations resisted this move as a dilution of the institute's function and a duplication of the activities of other existing institutions. The resolution proposing the new institute was passed by the Committee by a vote of 18 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 (U.K.) abstention, with the request that the financial implications be submitted to ECOSOC.

### Regional Activities

The Committee on Housing, Building and Planning of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) met in Geneva in May 1965. The U.S. delegation included representatives of both labor and private industry. The continuing efforts of the United States and others to expand the Committee's consideration of urban growth, its problems and its opportunities, are increasingly reflected in the Committee's agenda and activities. A seminar on Future Patterns and Forms of

Urban Settlement will be held under ECE auspices in the Netherlands in 1966. The Committee also agreed to increase the attention in its working parties to socioeconomic—in contrast with technical—aspects. Late in 1965 a colloquium on housing for the elderly was held in Belgium and the United States was represented by an expert in this field.

The Working Party on Housing and Building Materials of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) met in June 1965. The U.S. Representative reported that the discussions in this meeting concentrated on (1) the concern for the very great shortage of housing in Asia which continues to grow worse because production is still far short of current needs; and (2) the many complex problems created by the rapidly increasing growth of urban areas in the ECAFE region. The hope was expressed in this meeting that the projected Asian Development Bank might sponsor programs to help alleviate housing and urban problems. The Working Party recommended that it be made a "Subcommittee on Housing, Building, and Planning," and that secretariat staff in this field be strengthened to make the work program more effective.

### *Population*

Although in general the population problem is far greater than the resources devoted to solving it, significant progress was made during 1965.

The first important U.N. action during the year was the adoption in March by the Commission on the Status of Women of a resolution on Family Planning sponsored by Austria, Finland, the United Arab Republic, and the United States which suggested that "non-governmental organizations in consultative status . . . study the possibility of making available the increasing fund of knowledge in this field as a source of assistance to married couples in fulfilling their parental responsibilities" and requested the Secretary-General to provide the Commission with a report on "the effect of the lack of family planning on the status of women . . . ." (See page 212).

At its biennial session from March 23 to April 5 the Population Commission took note of this resolution and added its own endorsement of the study. In other important actions, the Population Commission reviewed the Secretary-General's report on the results of the inquiry among governments on problems resulting from the interaction of economic development and population changes which had been requested by the 17th General Assembly in 1962, and suggested that the inquiry be repeated at 5-year intervals; approved arrangements for the second World Population Conference to be held later

in the year; and adopted a long-range, 15-year work program in population fields, which included also an intermediate-range, 5-year program, and a short-range, 2-year program. After extensive debate the Commission also approved inclusion in the long-range program of provision for assistance to member countries in "the formulation and execution of family planning programs and other population policy measures . . . ."

The Population Commission submitted a draft resolution to the Economic and Social Council which, among other things, requested the Secretary-General "to consider giving a position for the work in population in the United Nations Secretariat that would correspond to its importance" and "to consult the interested specialized agencies on the division of responsibilities and co-ordination of activities . . . in the population fields . . . ." This resolution was approved by the Economic and Social Council at its July session. Significantly, at the request of India and Iraq, the Council added a further paragraph requesting the Secretary-General "to provide . . . advisory services and training on action programmes in the field of population at the request of Governments desiring assistance in this field."

The second U.N. World Population Conference was held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, August 30–September 10. Over 800 scholars participated in the Conference, almost twice the number who took part in the first U.N. World Population Conference in 1954, and more than 500 technical and scientific papers were presented. Since the Conference was a scientific meeting of experts, no resolutions or recommendations were adopted. Reflecting the growth of interest in the developing countries in population problems, there was a sharp increase in participation by scholars from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, compared with the first World Population Conference 11 years earlier.

Probably the most significant single development during 1965 was the launching of a new type of technical assistance program in the population field with the appointment of a U.N. Advisory Mission on Family Planning. This was requested by India in January. The five-member Mission was headed by Sir Colville Deverell, Secretary General of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, and included Dr. Leona Baumgartner, Assistant Administrator for Technical Cooperation and Research, U.S. Agency for International Development. It visited India from February to April in order to review the progress of the family planning program begun by India in 1952; to advise the Government of India on ways of accelerating popular acceptance of the idea of smaller families, the practice of family planning, and reduction in the national birth rate; and to



consider the problem of coordinating the family planning program with efforts in related fields such as health, education, community development, and the status of women.

Another significant development was the adoption by the World Health Assembly in May of a resolution that requested the Director General of the World Health Organization to develop further WHO's program activities in the health aspects of world population in three fields—reference services, studies, and advisory services. In the field of studies, the resolution specified those on the medical aspects of sterility, on the medical aspects of fertility control methods, and on the health aspects of population dynamics. In the field of advisory services, the resolution affirmed that WHO should give advice, on request, to health administrations on the medical aspects and treatment of sterility, and on the medical aspects of family planning, with the understanding that such services are related, within the responsibilities of WHO, to technical advice on the health aspects of human reproduction.

The UNICEF Executive Board at its meeting in June 1965 requested its Executive Director to prepare for the Board's consideration at its next session recommendations on the role of UNICEF in family planning programs, and to put before the Board one or two requests for assistance for family planning programs from those member governments which give high priority to such programs in promoting maternal and child health.

### *Narcotic Drugs*

The 20th session of the U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs, of which the United States is a member, met at Geneva from November 29 to December 21, 1965.

The Commission reviewed in closed session the illicit traffic situation in 1964 and concluded that it continued to constitute a serious threat to the international community. The Commission noted that illicit drugs generally came from illicit production, and that so long as large quantities of raw materials existed and could be procured, traffickers would use them for their purposes. The Commission noted that traffickers were now capable of organizing clandestine laboratories in parts of the world where that would have been impossible a few decades ago.

The Commission found it impossible in the time available at its 20th session to give questions relating to the control of substances not under international control (barbiturates, amphetamines, tranquillizers, etc.) the attention they deserved. The Commission recommended that, subject to approval of the Economic and Social

Council, a committee of the Commission be set up to give careful and detailed consideration to this subject with a view to evolving the control and other measures that might be required for these substances. The Committee would be composed of Canada, Federal Republic of Germany, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, and United States and would report to the 21st session of the Commission.

The Commission recommended that the election procedure suggested by the U.N. Secretary-General for the first elections to the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) be initiated by the Economic and Social Council, so that the members of the new INCB might take office on March 2, 1968.

The representative of the World Health Organization (WHO) reviewed for the Commission the background of a WHO proposal for amendment of article 3 of the Single Convention which would enable WHO, instead of the Commission, to take decisions on control of new drugs. The Commission, however, considered that since the Single Convention had so recently come into force, it would be untimely to consider amendments to it. In order to prevent any delay in bringing new narcotic substances under control, the Commission adopted unanimously a resolution requesting the U.N. Secretary-General, in the event the Commission is not in session or will not be for a period of 3 months, to arrange for a decision to be taken by a vote of the members of the Commission by mail or telegram, and for a report to be made to the Commission at its next session.

The Commission established a working group to prepare a revised text of the draft administrative guide for the application of the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961, which will be circulated to governments for comment.

The Commission adopted consolidated questionnaires for use by countries that are parties to the older treaties as well as by those that are parties to the Single Convention and requested the U.N. Secretariat to transmit these questionnaires to governments.

The Commission felt that acceptance of the term "drug dependence" to replace the terms "drug addiction" and "drug habituation," as recommended by WHO, might create administrative as well as legal difficulties, since the term "addiction" was a part of national legislation and international treaties.

During the discussion of the program of technical assistance in narcotics control, the U.S. Representative, Harry J. Anslinger, made the point that governments should give some assurance that their officials who benefit from training given under the program would continue to be employed for a reasonable time in the narcotics field.

The Commission adopted unanimously a resolution, for action by the Economic and Social Council, inviting the U.N. Secretary-General and the Directors General of the Specialized Agencies whose terms of reference permit their doing so, and within the existing financial resources, to give sympathetic consideration to requests they may receive from U.N. members for technical and financial assistance in combating the habit of coca leaf chewing and in substituting other crops for the coca bush.

The Commission took note of the document, "Review of the Commission's Work During Its First Twenty Years" and asked that it be made the subject of a special edition of the *Bulletin on Narcotics*, so that it could be used for information purposes by governments and by the U.N. Secretariat. During the discussion of this document, the U.S. Representative said:

The United States commends the work of the Commission—the results have been outstanding. . . . The United States representatives would be less than candid, however, if we did not say there is a great deal more to be done.

. . . Until the illicit traffic is eliminated from the world scene, all nations must strengthen their efforts to reduce the growing of poppies to an absolute minimum and to bring about the detection and apprehension of violators and subject them to stringent penalties.

Throughout the world, the traditional drugs of choice by narcotic addicts are opium and its derivative, heroin. Complete elimination of all opium production, supplemented by rigid enforcement and controls over licensed manufacturers of synthetic narcotics, would result in a tremendous reduction in narcotic drug addiction. . . . When it has been demonstrated, as is expected within the next few years, that opium is not essential for medical purposes, the United States would give very favorable consideration to discussions leading to an international agreement which would abolish legal opium production entirely.

The achievement of such an ambitious goal would not be feasible, however, without the complete cooperation and assistance of all States. Also, it would almost certainly require assistance in the form of technical aid for those countries in which opium production is still of some importance economically.

### *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)*

The basic function of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is to provide legal and political protection to refugees within the UNHCR mandate; i.e., within the scope of the statute of the Office (primarily European refugees from Communist countries). In addition, the UNHCR conducts assistance programs promoting solutions to problems of needy refugees within his mandate, and uses his good offices (under authority contained in several General Assembly resolutions) in similarly assisting refugees who have not been determined to be within the UNHCR mandate. At the same time he facilitates the voluntary repatriation of refugees.



The UNHCR Executive Committee, composed of representatives of 30 governments including the United States, reviews and supervises the High Commissioner's activities. During 1965 the Executive Committee met twice in regular session.

### Legal and Political Protection

In securing legal and political protection for refugees within his mandate, the High Commissioner intervened as necessary with governmental authorities to protect the interests of individual refugees or categories of refugees and to promote the constructive development or the effective implementation of pertinent national legislative and administrative measures. The primary tool of the UNHCR for this is the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which prohibits the forcible return of refugees to territories where their life or freedom would be threatened. The Convention also sets forth numerous guarantees designed to improve the legal, political, economic, and social status of refugees in their countries of residence, thus facilitating their reestablishment on a basis of self-support and individual dignity. It is the task of the UNHCR to encourage further accessions to the Convention and to supervise its implementation in states that have become parties to it. During 1965 two additional countries—the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Guinea—became parties to the Convention, bringing to 49 the total number of signatories.

The UNHCR Legal Assistance Program, closely related to political protection efforts and assistance programs, was maintained. Through this program approximately 7,500 refugees received specialized legal assistance on individual problems related to efforts to secure their reestablishment.

During 1965 the High Commissioner continued his efforts to secure indemnification for refugees who were persecuted for reasons of nationality under Hitler's National Socialist regime. Payments to persons eligible under article 2 of the Indemnification Agreement of October 5, 1960, between the UNHCR and the Federal Republic of Germany had been virtually completed the previous year. In 1965, therefore, the UNHCR directed his efforts toward expediting the processing of decisions on several thousand appeals cases under that Program. At the same time, he continued to promote measures for the indemnification of those who did not qualify for benefits under the 1960 Agreement because they failed to meet residence or refugee status dateline provisions. To this end the UNHCR continued his consultations with the Federal Republic regarding Germany's Final Indemnification Law which was enacted during the year, and entered

into negotiations to secure additional benefits similar to those provided under article 2 of the 1960 Agreement.

### The Current Program

The Current Program was aimed at enabling the UNHCR to assist countries of asylum in coping with the problems of new refugees (both those within his mandate and those assisted under his good offices function).

The UNHCR Executive Committee, at its 13th session, at Geneva, May 10-17, established an overall ceiling of \$3.2 million for the 1965 program and approved projects in the amount of \$2.4 million. The Committee subsequently raised this ceiling to \$3.5 million at its 14th session (Geneva, October 25-November 2) and approved further projects up to that amount, in the light of added requirements brought on by newly developing refugee problems (chiefly in Africa). The United States contributed \$600,000, of which \$350,000 was earmarked to meet refugee needs in Africa. The United States continued to emphasize during 1965 the importance of securing additional contributions for the UNHCR program from governments and from private sources throughout the world, and fully supported the High Commissioner in his successful efforts in this regard. A total of 57 governments contributed to the UNHCR program in 1965, compared with 52 in 1964, and 40 in 1963.

In Europe the Current Program played a significant part in the successful international effort to reestablish a sufficient number of the newly arriving mandate refugees to prevent any increase in the number of such refugees in asylum countries. During 1965 the UNHCR also continued to assist Cuban refugees in Spain and Latin America. In Latin America the Program again emphasized assistance to handicapped refugees through support of old age homes, special resettlement solutions, and related means.

The UNHCR was active in furnishing assistance through the Current Program (under his good offices function) to Chinese refugees in Macau and to Tibetan refugees in Nepal. From funds received for operations outside the Current Program, he provided assistance to projects on behalf of Chinese refugees in Hong Kong and Tibetan refugees in India. In exercising his authority to use his good offices for refugees not within the UNHCR mandate, the High Commissioner, wherever possible, utilized money available from his Emergency Fund or from voluntary contributions to support or set in motion a coordinated assistance program with the participation of interested governments, international organizations, and/or voluntary agencies.

Nearly one-half of the resources of the 1965 UNHCR Current Program were applied toward meeting refugee problems in Africa.

The UNHCR African operations are designed to reestablish the refugees on a self-sufficient basis within the asylum countries, chiefly through agricultural projects jointly funded by these countries and the UNHCR, and to meet the emergency and interim needs of the refugees.

During 1965 the UNHCR continued relief and resettlement projects begun the previous year for Sudanese refugees in Uganda and refugees from Portuguese Guinea in Senegal. Emergency assistance was extended to help meet the needs of a new influx of Sudanese into the Central African Republic. Limited UNHCR assistance for refugees from South-West Africa was initiated in 1965 under a project financed from special trust funds, through which a number of such refugees were assisted to move to Tanzania. This project was carried out through joint action of the Resident Representative of the United Nations in Dar es Salaam and the UNHCR.

The UNHCR continued to assist the needy among the refugees from Rwanda who since 1961 had been fleeing into Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi, and the Kivu Province of the Congo (Léopoldville). In 1965 the UNHCR, in cooperation with the Government of Burundi, initiated a project for the rural resettlement of 25,000 Rwandan refugees at Mugera in Burundi. To cope with an influx of refugees from Mozambique, the UNHCR and the Government of Tanzania launched a similar resettlement project in Rutamba in Tanzania.

During 1965 the UNHCR continued to cooperate with concerned African governments in promoting arrangements for facilitating the peaceful return and re-integration in their homelands of refugees desiring repatriation. Approximately 5,500 refugees from Rwanda and 25,000 refugees from the Congo (Léopoldville) voluntarily returned to their homelands from nearby asylum countries.

The United States, both in the UNHCR Executive Committee and elsewhere, has given strong support to the efforts of the High Commissioner to deal promptly and constructively with emerging and existing refugee problems in Africa.

Throughout 1965 the UNHCR maintained and further strengthened its close relations with other U.N. organizations and with intergovernmental organizations in the refugee field. For example, the International Labor Organization continued to cooperate with UNHCR, particularly in the field of international protection; the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in the field of education; the World Food Program in nonemergency feeding; the World Health Organization in medical assistance to refugees; the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration in the movement of refugees; and many other organizations in their respective fields



of common interest. The UNHCR also worked with an increasing number of voluntary organizations interested in assisting refugees.

During the year the High Commissioner maintained particularly close liaison with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on policy and program matters concerning the UNHCR role in Africa. The OAU was represented by an observer at both sessions of the UNHCR Executive Committee and the High Commissioner was similarly represented at the OAU heads of state conference.

### The Major Aid Program

The Major Aid Program was initiated in 1963 as a final, 3-year effort to liquidate the residual problem (chiefly in Europe) of mandate refugees who had been registered on the UNHCR caseload in asylum countries prior to 1961. Most of the funds for this purpose were received in 1963 as lump-sum contributions from governments and private sources. In addition, in 1965 as previously, matching contributions for approved projects were provided by the several European countries of asylum. During the year the Major Aid Program succeeded, through assistance projects for local integration or resettlement, in reestablishing approximately 7,000 of the 21,500 unassimilated residual refugees in its care. Of the 14,500 remaining on the Major Aid caseload at the end of 1965, solutions were being implemented for 9,700. This Program, which the United States has fully supported, concentrated on the reestablishment of refugees who were severely handicapped by reason of mental, physical, or social disability, and who comprised a sizable portion of the caseload.

It became evident in 1965 that Major Aid projects in certain countries could not be completed by the end of 1965 and that the Program, if it were to meet its objectives, should be extended. The U.S. Representative on the Executive Committee, Elmer M. Falk, continued to stress that every possible effort must be made to achieve the goals of the program at the earliest possible date. At his request, and with the twofold aim of hastening the achievement of Program objectives and clarifying the UNHCR financial position with respect to the Major Aid Program, the Executive Committee at its spring session requested the UNHCR to carry out a project-by-project review of undisbursed funds. The UNHCR was requested to present a succinct summary report to the Committee at its fall session, together with proposed disbursement schedules. These reports proved useful in further planning for the expeditious completion of the Major Aid Program.

### The Emergency Fund

The \$500,000 UNHCR Emergency Fund established by a 1958

General Assembly resolution has continued to be an indispensable instrument of the High Commissioner, and is regularly replenished through repayments of refugee housing loans made under previous UNHCR programs. The U.S. Representative has consistently encouraged the UNHCR to draw upon the Fund for emergency refugee problems that arise between Executive Committee sessions. During 1965 the High Commissioner expended \$210,190 from the Fund for such purposes, all of which was applied to assistance projects in Africa.

### General Assembly Action

On December 7, 1965, the General Assembly, at its 20th session, adopted four resolutions with respect to the UNHCR. In one resolution it requested the High Commissioner to pursue his efforts with a view to insuring an adequate international protection of refugees and to providing satisfactory permanent solutions to the problems affecting the various groups of refugees within his competence. Noting the increasingly universal character of refugee problems, the resolution invited member states of the United Nations and of the Specialized Agencies to increase their support for the humanitarian action of UNHCR and to make available to the High Commissioner the financial means required to insure the full implementation of his programs.

In a second resolution the General Assembly commended the UNHCR and other intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations for their efforts on behalf of refugees in Africa. This resolution invited member states to devote special attention to the problems of these refugees and to cooperate actively with the High Commissioner by placing the necessary means at his disposal, particularly in the form of increased financial contributions. In a third resolution the General Assembly, noting that a group of voluntary agencies had decided to promote a special fund-raising campaign in October 1966 to benefit mainly refugees in Africa and Asia, decided that United Nations Day in 1966 (October 24) will be dedicated to the cause of refugees.

In the fourth resolution the General Assembly noted that Félix Schnyder (Switzerland), the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, would relinquish his post in the near future; and expressed its sincere appreciation to him for his work during the years he has served as High Commissioner.

Upon nomination by the Secretary-General, the Assembly elected by acclamation Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan (Iran) to succeed Mr. Schnyder as High Commissioner for a 3-year term through December 31, 1968.

*United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)*

UNICEF's efforts on behalf of children and youth during the last two decades received special recognition this year in the award to it of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1965.

The Vice President of the Norwegian Parliament (Storting), Mrs. Aase Lionaes, cited the work of UNICEF at the Nobel Prize ceremonies in Oslo:

The aim of UNICEF is to spread a table decked with all the good things that Nature provides, for all the children of the world. For this reason the organization is a peace-factor of great importance. UNICEF has realized that children provide the key to the future: the children of today are the history of the future. UNICEF is now forging a link of solidarity between the rich and the poor countries. In an age when so many people are terrified of the destructive effects of the forces that science has placed in our hands, UNICEF offers young people in all countries an alternative which it is worth living and working for—a world with

Freedom for all people.

Equality between all races.

Brotherhood among all men.

In accepting the prize on behalf of UNICEF, the Executive Director, Henry R. Labouisse, emphasized that credit for the award should be shared among the governments that contribute to UNICEF, the U.N. agencies that provide technical guidance for UNICEF-aided projects, the members of UNICEF national committees, and millions of other volunteers who contribute their time and money to make the organization's work possible.

The \$54,000 Nobel Prize award will be used to establish a special Maurice Pate memorial fund to support special training projects or other activities closely related to UNICEF's work but outside the scope of its regular assistance program.

Maurice Pate, appointed Executive Director at UNICEF's inception, served in that capacity until his death on January 19, 1965. Under his leadership UNICEF grew from an emergency agency for relief in war-torn Europe to a permanent arm of the United Nations to assist the developing countries in building their basic services for the well-being of children. Secretary of State Dean Rusk, in a cable to the U.N. Secretary-General, said of Maurice Pate, "His name will remain a synonym for UNICEF and its great humanitarian work in behalf of children and youth throughout the world." Mr. Pate was succeeded on June 1, 1965, by another American, Henry R. Labouisse, former U.S. Ambassador to Greece.

The Executive Board, which now meets annually to determine policy and allocate funds, held its 1965 meeting in New York in June. During the week before the Board meeting members of the Program



Committee were the guests of the U.S. Government on a tour of several U.S. services and facilities for children. Services visited included education, community development, housing, social services, and health. In New York, Puerto Rico, Washington, and Baltimore, the group visited a variety of highly sophisticated services, such as the National Institutes of Health, as well as very simple local services, and was shown problems as well as accomplishments. The group was especially impressed with the services it saw in Puerto Rico which has made such strides in overcoming conditions similar to those in many of the countries represented on the Board. During the meeting of the Executive Board, a number of delegates thanked the United States for the opportunity to visit these services and expressed their appreciation for the high regard that the United States has for UNICEF, as evidenced by the attention given the group by the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and other high government officials.

The major program issue before the Board at its 1965 session was how to help the young child, aged 1 to 6 years. UNICEF's concern for this age group reflects the growing recognition of the great importance of this transition period of a child's life. In developing countries especially, the hazards of malnutrition and disease are particularly acute. The Board had before it a number of documents on the needs of the young child which drew attention to this neglected age group. No new UNICEF program was proposed, but the Board agreed to increase UNICEF's efforts in programs already serving preschool children to see that this group is reached more effectively.

On the initiative of the U.S. delegation, UNICEF's role in programs for family planning was brought up for discussion for the first time at an Executive Board meeting. Since family planning is an integral part of good maternal and child health services, expanded aid seems appropriate for this element of a health program to which UNICEF contributes such a large share of its resources.

The United States, with strong support from a number of countries from all regions, was successful in its effort to have the subject placed on the agenda for the Board meeting in 1966. The United States also suggested, and the Board agreed, that several projects be brought to the Board from countries requesting assistance in family planning so that the Board could consider these requests within the framework of the policy it decides to adopt.

The Board reviewed and approved assistance for 200 projects, of which 171 were continuing projects and 29 new projects. Program allocations totaled \$26.5 million.

The distribution of aid in the various categories followed the usual pattern, though there was somewhat less aid for nutrition and more

aid for planning for children and youth in national development. The increase in aid for education in Africa and Asia was especially noteworthy. For the first time Mongolia requested and received aid, bringing to 118 the number of countries receiving UNICEF help.

The level of allocations for 1965 was below the level approved at recent Board sessions because during the years 1962-64 the Board had followed a policy of utilizing reserves that had accumulated. This process has been completed and UNICEF in 1965 could allocate only against income expected during the year ahead. Though annual income continues to rise, the growth is less rapid than anticipated. The cutback in UNICEF aid is in contrast to the rising child population, estimated at 2.5 percent a year.

With the tightening of resources, less than 10 percent of the program allocations made at the Board's session; i.e., \$2.2 million, could be devoted to new projects. Not only were there requests for aid from governments in the fields of health, nutrition, education, vocational training, and social services which could not all be met, but there were special areas of need where so far only a beginning had been made, such as the plight of children in rapidly growing shanty towns, and children and youth who are not attending school.

The U.S. Representative, P. Frederick DellQuadri, commented on this situation as follows:

The most disturbing fact about the financial situation of UNICEF is that only 10 percent of its resources are now available for new projects. . . . We urge a continuing careful re-examination of all projects to see which might be tapered off as governments assume greater responsibility. We hope such a review will be reflected in the program presented to the Board in 1966. Depending on what the Secretariat reports in 1966, the Board might wish to consider a future discussion of the current policy of giving priority to continuing projects.

Income from all sources was approximately \$33 million, about \$300,000 over the preceding year. Substantial portions of UNICEF's income continue to come from private sources. Including proceeds from the Trick-or-Treat campaign in the United States, similar campaigns in other countries, and the net proceeds from the sale of greeting cards, private sources contributed a total of \$5.6 million in 1965. An additional \$1.4 million came from other sources. The United States, for the sixth consecutive year, made a voluntary pledge to UNICEF of \$12 million, an amount equal to 40 percent of total government contributions.

The impetus given to the planning for children and youth as part of national development planning by the UNICEF-sponsored Bellagio Conference of 1964 continued in 1965 with regional activities. The Latin American Conference on Children and Youth in National Development, held in Santiago, Chile, in December 1965, was attended



by representatives of 22 countries of the region and three observer delegations, including that of the United States. A similar conference planned for Asia, scheduled to take place in Bangkok in September 1965, was postponed to March 1966.

On the invitation of the Imperial Government of Ethiopia the Executive Board will hold its 1966 session in Addis Ababa, where it will give special attention to the needs of African children.

## SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION

President Johnson, in a special message read to the Panel on Science and Technology of the White House Conference on International Cooperation on November 30, 1965, by his Special Assistant for Science and Technology, Dr. Donald F. Hornig, said:

. . . The broad net of personal contacts among scientists of many nations, contacts brought about by shared efforts to solve common problems, has brought men closer together. These contacts—and the cooperation achieved by international scientific organizations—has led to understanding among scientists which has often preceded and paved the way for political understanding.

The language of science—and the deeds of science—continue to offer fruitful and still unexplored opportunities for constructive cooperation with other countries in the cause of peace. We must not rest in our efforts to develop cooperative programs which unite the talents of our scientific community with those of other nations in advancing knowledge and promoting the welfare of all mankind.

On his own behalf Dr. Hornig had said:

It is particularly appropriate that the subject we are discussing today—international cooperation in science and technology—be taken up under the auspices of the United Nations. One of the areas in which the United Nations has been making steady but unspectacular progress has been that of strengthening science and technology in many countries around the globe. This Conference itself is a tribute to the constructive role the United Nations is playing in this field.

Many of the activities of the U.N. system involve, in some degree, the acquisition, application, or exchange of scientific knowledge. This is reflected throughout the present report. This particular section is focused on scientific interests and activities of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly, of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR), and of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development. Among the other sections of the present report containing extensive material on scientific cooperation are those on Outer Space (see page 22), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO—see page 221), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA—see page 259), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU—see page 248), the United Nations Educational, Scientific



and Cultural Organization (UNESCO—see page 233), the World Health Organization (WHO—see page 240), and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO—see page 255).

### *Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development*

Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, in an address on July 9, 1965, before the 39th session of the Economic and Social Council, praised the work and the report of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development.

The report, the Committee's second, was the product of its third session, held at Paris, March 31–April 9, 1965. The Advisory Committee had concluded at that session that, in respect to the application of science and technology to development, there were certain subjects deserving special attention because of their significance to a large number of developing countries and because of their susceptibility to a large-scale attack in which the developed and developing countries might cooperate. A major portion of the report, accordingly, consisted of a survey of actions needed in the fields of food supply, health, population, natural resources, industrialization, housing and urban planning, transportation, and education. Of all the problems, that of education and training was deemed most important; the supply of trained manpower within any given country was judged the most critical element in determining the ability of that country to absorb, apply, or adapt science and technology to its needs.

The second major portion of the Advisory Committee's report was devoted to a 1963 request by the General Assembly for a study of the feasibility of establishing a program of international cooperation in the application of science and technology to development. The Advisory Committee found no gaps in the work already being performed by the United Nations, its Specialized Agencies, and the International Atomic Energy Agency. It found that, while the activities of the several parts of the United Nations family had been organized within the frameworks of their respective individual programs, the cumulative whole was, in fact, a considerable program of international cooperation in science and technology. It concluded that the existing organizational structure (i.e., the Economic and Social Council, the General Assembly, the Administrative Committee on Coordination, and the Advisory Committee itself) provided adequate machinery to launch a planned international campaign of global dimensions, if such should be desired, to strengthen existing programs in science and technology and to add appropriate new arrangements to round out the total effort.

The Advisory Committee's second report was a major subject considered at the 39th session of the Council, which adopted unanimously a resolution commending the Advisory Committee, and containing a series of requests addressed to the Advisory Committee, the Secretary-General, the Specialized Agencies, the International Atomic Energy Agency, and governments, with the objective of giving effect to recommendations made by the Advisory Committee. The Council also asked that the Advisory Committee, in the interest of achieving the greatest possible concentration of effort and of available resources on problems of high priority, consider whether it could reduce still further the list of subjects on which a concerted attack should be launched by developed and developing countries.

The Advisory Committee's major objective at its fourth session (Geneva, November 8-19, 1965) was to lay the groundwork for a refined and revised report, to be completed at its fifth session in the spring of 1966 for submission to the 1966 summer session of the Council. The reactions of the various organizations within the U.N. family to the recommendations in the second report were assessed, and requests were made of those organizations for additional data. In the process, the Advisory Committee identified 27 specific problems within the eight subject areas which it had earlier recommended as the foci for concerted attack. It concluded, after examination of those subject areas in the light of the Council's request for a possible reduction in their number, that such a reduction was impossible because of the varying degrees of importance of all subjects to the developing countries. The Committee agreed, however, to try at its fifth session, on the basis of such additional information as would by then be available, to establish a work priority ranking of the 27 specific problems.

In December 1965 the General Assembly adopted a resolution in which it, like the Council, commended the Advisory Committee on its work. It endorsed the Advisory Committee's view that the existing organizational structure of the U.N. system provided adequate machinery for a program of international cooperation in the application of science and technology to development. The Advisory Committee was asked, as its program developed, to examine in more detail the role of the U.N. system in relation to the establishment by developing countries of national policies for the application of science and technology to development; the establishment or strengthening of institutions for scientific and technological research in the developing countries; the more extensive undertaking, by appropriate institutions in highly developed countries, of research on problems of special concern to developing countries; and the encouragement of cooperative links between universities, research institutes, laboratories and similar



institutions in the highly developed countries and those in developing countries.

*United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR)*

Congressman Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen, speaking for the United States at the December 17, 1965, meeting of the General Assembly's Special Political Committee, declared that the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation had, since its establishment in 1955, performed an extremely valuable function by putting the available information on atomic radiation into proper perspective and by stimulating investigation and research to expand the depth and scope of such information. He noted that the comprehensive reports submitted to the General Assembly in 1958 and 1962 were outstanding testimonials to the Scientific Committee's thoroughness, scientific objectivity, and sound judgment. This high standard had, in his opinion, been maintained in a special, more limited report which had been submitted to the 20th General Assembly in order to bring up to date, on the basis of data available as of June 1964, information on the contamination of the environment by nuclear tests and the possibility of quantitatively assessing the risk of induction of malignancies in man by radiation.

The Special Political Committee unanimously recommended to the General Assembly a resolution, which the latter body adopted on December 18, 1965, on the work of the Scientific Committee. The valuable contribution made by the Scientific Committee to wider knowledge and understanding of the effects and levels of atomic radiation was commended, as was also the work of the World Meteorological Organization in carrying forward a program for monitoring and reporting levels of atmospheric radioactivity. The Scientific Committee was asked to continue its program to increase knowledge of the levels and effects of atomic radiation from all sources.

During the General Assembly, the Scientific Committee held its only 1965 session at Geneva, Switzerland, from November 15 to 23. At this session the Scientific Committee discussed new information on natural radiation sources, radioactive contamination of the environment, and certain biological effects of ionizing radiation. The Committee concluded that this new information might warrant the preparation at its next session in 1966 of a special short report to the General Assembly setting forth revised estimates of risk in these subject fields.

The U.S. Representative on the Scientific Committee is Dr. Richard H. Chamberlain.



*Other Questions Relating to Science and Technology***Water Desalination**

The 39th session of the Economic and Social Council considered two reports on water desalination. One was a brief review of developments in this field since the July 1964 publication of a U.N. survey entitled *Water Desalination in Developing Countries*. The report suggested that there could be strengthened cooperation among the U.N. agencies working on the problems of desalination, and that the U.N. Secretariat could both undertake studies concerning the needs of developing countries in respect to desalination and serve as a clearinghouse for the exchange of information in this field. The second report, *Water Desalination: Proposals for a Costing Procedure and Related Technical and Economic Considerations*, was intended primarily for technicians. It dealt with the principal items of investment which enter into costing calculations and contained a review of the technical and economic factors encountered in the selection, construction, and operation of desalination plants.

During discussion of the two reports, repeated emphasis was given to the need of many countries, both developed and developing, for effective and economical water desalination techniques. Appreciation was expressed for the work in this field by the U.N. Secretariat and the International Atomic Energy Agency. With respect to the work of the latter body, several speakers stressed the role that nuclear energy could play in the desalination of sea water in the case of large-scale operations.

The Council unanimously adopted a resolution recording its appreciation of the increased emphasis that had been given to desalination as a means of facilitating the process of economic development in water-short areas. Several recommendations were made in this same resolution for strengthening cooperation among the U.N. agencies working on desalination problems and for stimulating the exchange of technical information as new developments occurred. First, the attention of member states was directed to the usefulness of the two reports that had been submitted to the Council. Second, the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development was asked to give further attention to water desalination problems. Third, the Secretary-General was asked to (1) strengthen the role of the U.N. Secretariat, both as a clearinghouse for the exchange of information and as a focal point for cooperation in the broad field of desalination; (2) survey and compile a report on desalination studies and projects in member states; and (3) explore in consultation with the Specialized Agencies and the International

Atomic Energy Agency, further possibilities for accelerating progress in the overall water desalination effort and its practical application in water-short areas.

### Cartography

The Economic and Social Council also examined a report from the Secretary-General on the Fourth U.N. Regional Cartographic Conference for Asia and the Far East, which had been held at Manila, November 21–December 5, 1964. Note was taken that the Conference had served as a useful forum for an exchange of information among regional cartographic experts on matters in the fields of geodesy, geography, oceanography, topography, photogrammetry, aerial photo interpretation, topical mapping, aeronautical charts, the international map of the world on the millionth scale, and geographical names. Believing that a fifth conference would provide a further useful opportunity for regional cooperation in the cartographic field, and noting that the Government of Australia had offered to act as host to such a conference, the Council asked the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps, in consultation with the Government of Australia, to convene a fifth U.N. Regional Cartographic Conference for Asia and the Far East in Canberra from March 8 to 22, 1967.

The Council noted the plans of the Secretary-General to convene a U.N. conference on the standardization of geographic names at Geneva in August 1967. The Secretary-General had submitted to the Council a memorandum on the arrangements that were being made for this conference in accordance with decisions taken by the Council in 1964 at its 37th session.

### Conservation and Pollution

The Coordination Committee of the Council noted reports on the conservation and amelioration of natural environments, and on national and international research into pollution of every kind and measures for its control. These had been prepared by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the World Health Organization (WHO), respectively, in response to a resolution adopted by the Council in 1962 at its 34th session. Approval was given to the proposal of UNESCO, in collaboration with the Food and Agriculture Organization, to prepare a further, more detailed report for submission to the Council in 1967. With respect to pollution problems, the Council endorsed the view expressed by WHO and the organizations collaborating with it that the time had come for action, rather than for additional surveys of a comprehensive

type. Governments and international organizations were urged to support and develop such action.

## HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

### *Convention Against Racial Discrimination*

The major U.N. achievement in the field of human rights in 1965 was the unanimous adoption by the General Assembly on December 21 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination which had been drafted in April 1964 by the Human Rights Commission pursuant to requests by the General Assembly in 1962 and 1963. Consideration of this Convention was postponed until 1965 because the General Assembly's Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) did not meet in 1964.

Racial discrimination is defined by the Convention as "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin" which impairs the exercise of human rights in any area of public life. The States Parties to the Convention undertake to promote interracial understanding and to prohibit or otherwise end, by all appropriate means, racial discrimination in public life by government agencies, individuals, and organizations. Racial segregation and *apartheid* are specifically condemned; propaganda and organizations based on theories of racial superiority are condemned and outlawed. Article 5 of the Convention obligates States Parties to guarantee to all, without discrimination, equality before the law in the enjoyment of specific human rights.

Article 4, outlawing organizations and propaganda promoting racial superiority, appears to restrict free speech which is constitutionally protected in the United States. Ambassador Goldberg pointed out this problem in a statement before the Third Committee explaining the U.S. vote for the Convention. He said:

. . . In voting for the Convention as a whole, we understand that article 4 imposes no obligation on any parties to the convention inconsistent with their constitutional guarantees of freedom.

The opening paragraph of article 4 provides that in carrying out certain obligations of the convention, the states that are parties to it shall have "due regard to the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the rights expressly set forth in article 5 of this Convention. . . ."

As we know, these principles and rights include freedom of speech and of association. Nonetheless, we find that subparagraph (a) of article 4 holds that



the dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred shall be declared an offense punishable by law.

It is the view of the United States, therefore, that article 4 does not obligate a state to take action that would prohibit its citizens from freely and fully expressing their views on any subject no matter how obnoxious they may be or whether they are in accord with government policy or not. We believe that a government should only act where speech is associated with, or threatens imminently to lead to, action against which the public has a right to be protected. . . .

Under our system of government, moreover, there must be an imminent danger of illegal action before speech becomes unlawful. Justice Brandeis stated the reason for this succinctly: "If there be time to expose through discussion the falsehood and fallacies, to avert the evil by the process of education, the remedy to be applied is more speech, not enforced silence."

The Race Discrimination Convention provides for its implementation through an 18-man Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination composed of experts elected by States Parties from among their nationals. (The remedies provided would not, however, prejudice resort to other existing procedures for redress of grievances, such as appeal to the International Court of Justice.) Any State Party which considers that another State Party is not giving effect to the provisions of this Convention may bring the matter to the attention of the Committee which shall notify the defaulting party. If the dispute is not settled within 6 months either State may refer the matter back to the Committee which may then be seized of the matter provided all domestic remedies have been exhausted.

The Committee may call upon the parties concerned to supply any relevant information, and the Committee shall appoint, with the unanimous consent of the parties to the dispute, an *ad hoc* commission of five persons to make its good offices available to the parties. If the disputants cannot agree on the composition of the commission, the Committee has the power to elect the missing members. The commission is required to prepare a report embodying its findings on all questions of fact and containing recommendations for the amicable solution of the dispute.

Under an optional provision, a State Party may at any time declare that it recognizes the competence of the Committee to receive and consider communications from individuals or groups within the State's jurisdiction. In such case the Committee shall consider petitions from individuals or groups, in the light of information submitted by both the State and the petitioner, and shall make recommendations to both.

Ambassador Goldberg said of the implementation provisions:

The implementation provisions make this convention more than just a restatement of pious hopes and generally laudable principles. They provide an historic procedure whereby a state that is party to this convention can be called to account for failure to carry out its obligations.

The subject of elimination of racial discrimination had been taken up earlier at the July 1965 session of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in connection with the 1963 declaration on the subject. ECOSOC discussed ways to encourage implementation of conventions and recommendations in the field of human rights, and asked the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to prepare separate reports on their organizational and procedural arrangements. Ambassador Franklin H. Williams, the U.S. Representative on ECOSOC, reiterated U.S. support for such action and said:

International concern with human rights is the Twentieth Century's contribution to the science of politics. Properly understood and applied, this concern can revolutionize the mind of man and enable him to achieve human solidarity in its highest sense. One of the major differences between the United Nations Charter and the League of Nations Covenant is that the Charter makes the promotion of Human Rights a main purpose of the International Organization. Not only is this concern for the individual human being the true distinguishing feature of the United Nations; in my opinion, it also holds out its greatest promise.

Mr. President, the fundamental lesson of our epoch is that the furnaces of war were and are stoked by those who hold man and his dignity in utter contempt. In our preoccupation here with the material things of life, that is a lesson we must never forget.

## *Human Rights*

### **Discrimination and Minorities**

The Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities met for its 17th session in Geneva in January 1965. As its major task it undertook the preparation of a draft declaration and convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance which had been requested by the General Assembly in 1962. The majority of the Subcommission agreed on a draft composed of a preamble and some 12 substantive articles together with proposed implementation articles which were not considered in detail. In addition to its studies on discrimination against persons born out of wedlock and equality in the administration of justice, the Subcommission decided to undertake an examination of the extent of racial discrimination in all fields. This study was later endorsed by ECOSOC and the General Assembly.

In March, when the Human Rights Commission considered the report of the Subcommission, a proposal was made to increase its membership and change its name to "Permanent Committee of Experts" with enlarged terms of reference. After considerable de-

bate the Commission recommended to ECOSOC that the size of the Subcommission be increased from 14 to 18, but postponed action on the other proposed changes. The Commission also elected 14 experts to be members of the Subcommission since the terms of all those serving would expire at the end of 1965.

C. Clyde Ferguson of Howard University was elected to succeed Morris B. Abram, who had become the U.S. Representative on the Commission on Human Rights.

### Religious Intolerance

The 21st session of the Commission on Human Rights, which met in Geneva from March 22 to April 15, 1965, continued with the preparation of a draft international convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance on the basis of the draft forwarded by the Subcommission.

After 2 weeks of intensive debate, it completed the preamble and five articles for the convention and decided to continue work at its 1966 session.

Among the articles completed were several involving fundamental concepts. In line with the policy adopted in the convention against racial discrimination, the area of prohibited discrimination was limited to "public life." The definition of "religious intolerance" gave rise to prolonged controversy over whether it should include a specific reference to atheism. The U.S. Representative, Morris Abram, expressed the fear that such emphasis on atheistic beliefs might be interpreted as condoning attacks and persecution against religious groups by states where atheism had become official dogma. He stated:

. . . we are witnessing active campaigns of intolerance against religions not by mere non-believers seeking converts but by organs of society and public institutions. Intolerance and suppression of religion and belief concerning religion is equally reprehensible if committed in the name of "scientific atheism" or in the name of the most formal religion.

Similar concern was expressed by other members of the Commission. It was pointed out, however, that atheism was generally recognized under constitutions and laws in almost all countries as a form of belief, and that failure to include a specific mention might be confusing. Representatives of the Soviet Union asserted their understanding that under the definition of religion proposed by the Subcommission—"theistic, non-theistic and atheistic beliefs"—all parties to the convention would be obligated to guarantee absolutely equal treatment in law without preference for any belief. In response to this assurance, the U.S. Representative withdrew his proposed amendment



defining religion in more general terms, and the Subcommittee's proposal was adopted unanimously.

Controversy also developed over the need for specific guarantees of critical elements in religious freedom, for example, the right to worship, to provide the essentials for ritual and practice, to teach and to train personnel, and to correspond and meet with co-religionists in other countries. Soviet representatives argued against such specification as unnecessary and unduly restrictive of governmental authority, but other delegations strongly supported a list of rights which was adopted as article 3 of the convention. As the U.S. Representative said: "It is this Article which furnishes the measurable standards by which principles may be tested by practice."

### Human Rights Year

The Human Rights Commission discussed plans for the International Year for Human Rights, as 1968 had been designated by the General Assembly in 1963. A 34-government committee, set up in 1964, presented a report suggesting work that might be done in advance, as well as during the celebration period. The Commission endorsed the committee's recommendations for programs at the national and international level, including a conference on human rights to be convened during 1968. It decided against undertaking an additional convention on the rights of the child.

ECOSOC considered these recommendations at its 39th session in July and added a directive, cosponsored by the United States, urging elimination of the policy of *apartheid* as one of the objectives of the International Year. In December the General Assembly unanimously approved the recommendations.

The General Assembly, in a resolution adopted December 20, called upon member states, Specialized Agencies, regional inter-governmental organizations, and national and international organizations concerned "to devote the year 1968 to intensified efforts and undertakings in the field of human rights"; urged governments to prepare for the Year by emphasizing the urgent need to eliminate discrimination and other violations of human dignity, including *apartheid*; and invited member states to ratify outstanding human rights conventions before 1968, listing specifically conventions relating to slavery, forced labor, discrimination in employment, equal pay for men and women, freedom of association, discrimination in education, genocide, the political rights of women, and elimination of racial discrimination.

The resolution included a special invitation to the Commission on the Status of Women to collaborate "in every stage" of the preparatory work. Finally, it authorized an International Conference on

Human Rights in 1968; set up a preparatory committee of 17 countries to propose place, time, agenda, and means of defraying the expense; and requested the committee to report to the Assembly in 1966 and again in 1967. The United States was among those appointed to the preparatory committee.

### Periodic Reports on Human Rights

The triennial reports on human rights, covering the years 1960-62, showed many countries active in improving the administration of justice and providing protection for defendants in criminal trial, in extending the scope of social insurance and improving conditions of work, and especially in making education more widely available to all. Many countries also reported new legislation or other moves to eliminate discrimination. However, many situations throughout the world continued unsatisfactory, particularly the persistence of policies of *apartheid*. The reports were considered in both the Human Rights Commission and the Commission on the Status of Women.

An *ad hoc* committee which had been appointed by the Human Rights Commission recommended a number of changes in procedure, many of which were proposed by the United States. One recommended change would establish a 3-year reporting cycle to reduce the bulk of documentation for review in any single Commission meeting, with developments relating to civil and political rights considered in a first year, social and economic developments in a second, and freedom of information in a third.

A second change would authorize the circulation of incoming material in its original form, without the intermediate step of a summary by the United Nations.

Most of the members of the Commission endorsed these changes, which were later approved by ECOSOC. The U.S.S.R. representatives, however, voted against them, and also renewed their earlier objections to participation by nongovernmental organizations in consultative status, which have regularly been invited to supply "information of an objective character" to assist consideration of the periodic reports. The United States took the lead in resisting any move to restrict contributions from these organizations, pointing out that they were needed as a source of independent comment.

### Proposal for a High Commissioner for Human Rights

In advance of the session, Costa Rica had requested inclusion of the item, "Election of a U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights," on the agenda of the Human Rights Commission. Acceptance of this item was the subject of heated debate during the first days of the session.



Although the majority welcomed the proposal, insisting that it was in no way contrary to the principles of the Charter and offered an opportunity for constructive study and new U.N. machinery to advance human rights, the Soviet representatives stated that they were unalterably opposed to the concept and regarded the formulation as anticipating the expected action. To assure opportunity for full discussion, therefore, it was proposed that the item be rephrased as "Question of Implementation of Human Rights through a U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights or some other appropriate international machinery." This proposal was adopted by a vote of 16 (U.S.) to 3. The Commission did not, however, have time to discuss it.

The 39th session of ECOSOC later considered whether the item should be forwarded to the General Assembly with the suggestion that a working group be designated to study it, but there was general agreement that the Human Rights Commission was the proper body to undertake the first consideration. Accordingly, the Council took no formal decision on the matter.

### **Punishment of War Criminals**

The Commission on Human Rights had before it a new agenda item proposed by Poland on an urgent basis entitled, "The question of Punishment of War Criminals." The Polish delegation explained that under statutes of limitations in effect in some countries, legal proceedings against war criminals might terminate even before the end of 1965 and that it was important that this time limit be extended. Other members felt that the Commission should consider the item only if it were broadened to include the question of punishment of crimes against humanity. The Polish Representative accepted this addition. By the time the item was debated, however, one of the countries where the statute of limitations might apply had already adopted legislation extending the time. The Commission therefore decided that there was no need for hasty action, and set up a working group to develop a text which could have unanimous support. This group met repeatedly during the session and recommended that the Secretary-General undertake a study of problems raised in international law by war crimes and crimes against humanity, with priority for a study of legal procedures to insure that no period of limitation should apply to such crimes. The Commission adopted this recommendation. It also approved the text, developed by the working group for adoption by ECOSOC, which urged all states to continue their efforts to insure that criminals responsible for war crimes and crimes against humanity were apprehended and equitably punished by competent courts.



During the debate the U.S. Representative pointed out that some governments had not cooperated as fully as might be expected in providing information from their war records regarding persons who might be guilty of war crimes. He urged that the resolution include a statement on this point. His proposal was accepted, with the result that the ECOSOC resolution calls on governments to cooperate in particular by making available any documents in their possession relating to such crimes.

### *Status of Women*

During 1965 final action was taken on two instruments of great significance. First, the ILO Conference in June adopted a recommendation concerning the Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities, and second, the General Assembly in November adopted a recommendation on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages.

#### **Employment of Women With Family Responsibilities**

The ILO recommendation noted that in many countries women are working outside their homes in increasing numbers as an integral and essential part of the labor force, that many such women have special problems arising out of their dual family and work responsibilities, and that "continuous social adaptation is required" to meet these problems. It states as a general principle that women with family responsibilities should be able to exercise their right to work without discrimination and in accordance with labor standards already adopted by the ILO. It then calls on competent authorities to adopt appropriate policies to this end, to undertake research and public education to engender broader understanding of the problems of such workers, to encourage provision of child care services and facilities where needed, to provide vocational education and guidance both to girls and to women without distinction as to age, and to ease entry into employment for women who have not yet worked or reentry in the case of women who have been absent because of maternity or other family responsibilities. In accordance with the ILO Constitution, all member states will report periodically on measures they have taken to give effect to the provisions of the recommendation.

#### **Free Consent to Marriage**

The marriage recommendation supplements the convention on the same subject adopted by the General Assembly in 1962, and its standards are in general the same. It calls for assurance of free consent

by both parties, expressed by each in person in the presence of the authority competent to solemnize the marriage and of witnesses, with special provision in the case of proxy marriages; a minimum age to be set by each government; and registration in an official register. The recommendation differs from the convention by including a specific mention of "not less than 15 years" as a desirable minimum age for marriage, and by providing for a definite schedule of reports from member states on their law and practice for consideration by the Commission on the Status of Women. The United States supported the recommendation when it was considered in the Third Committee, and joined in the unanimous vote in its favor.

### Civic and Political Rights

At the invitation of the Government of Iran, the Commission on the Status of Women held its 18th session in Tehran in March 1965. The United States took the initiative early in the session in proposing a series of regional seminars to help women use their political and civil rights. These seminars would be leadership training workshops in which interested nongovernmental organizations could share their experience and skills. They would serve as demonstration or pilot projects to stimulate further seminars at the national and local level. The U.S. Representative, Mrs. Gladys Tillett, pointed out that since women now vote in almost all countries of the world, the major problem is no longer the acquisition of political rights but the utilization of rights already gained. She referred to the new U.N. pamphlet, *Civic and Political Education of Women*, as offering a source of guidelines for this program.

Representatives of nongovernmental organizations, of whom some 20 were present, spoke enthusiastically in support, referring especially to the long-range value of the recent series of regional seminars on the Status of Women in Family Law.

As finally adopted, and with a number of additional sponsors, the resolution recommended "top priority" for this new series of seminars. The Economic and Social Council later endorsed the plan, and the General Assembly in the fall approved a shift in budget funds to permit prompt development of the seminars.

### Declaration Against Discrimination

In response to a 1963 request by the General Assembly the Commission undertook preparation of a draft Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. A number of governments and organizations had sent in suggestions for its content, and several delegations proposed texts. It was recognized that the declaration

would set international standards in all fields of importance to women, and should therefore be in a form usable by governments and organizations at the national level. The Commission appointed a drafting committee headed by the Mexican Representative—who had chaired the Commission in 1963—to develop a preliminary text. The United States was among the 11 members of the drafting group. The Commission decided to study the articles prepared by the drafting group and continue work on the project at its 1966 session.

### Assistance Programs

Discussion at the Commission session focused on a program of assistance for the advancement of women. As the result of a 1962 General Assembly request for a “unified, long-term United Nations programme for the advancement of women,” the Commission had received a series of suggestions from member states and analyses of the scope and effect of U.N. technical assistance programs in fields of special interest to women. It was pointed out that no significant progress could be made unless governments themselves gave higher priority to projects that would prepare and encourage women to participate more fully in national life.

In reply to a Soviet objection that technical assistance merely “built factories,” the United States pointed out that programs already underway embraced a wide variety of projects dealing with health, education, protection of human rights, reform of family law, training of doctors, nurses, and medical technicians, professional training of all types, training in leadership, family planning, community services, day nurseries, public administration, and many other programs which, if put into operation on a broader scale, would promote the status of women. The United States sponsored a resolution on this point.

### Family Planning

The United States also initiated a resolution on family planning. This proved of great importance because it placed the Commission on record for the first time as recognizing lack of family planning as a possible danger to the welfare of the individual woman and to her family. Austria, Finland, and the United Arab Republic joined the United States in sponsorship. All emphasized that the resolution was of common concern and that there was need for better use of educational facilities and for more information. The U.S. Representative emphasized that information about family planning should be made available by the United Nations only on the request of governments, and that each government should of course determine its own population policy, taking into account its own economic, cultural,



and religious circumstances. As adopted, the resolution expressed appreciation of steps already taken by the United Nations to strengthen research and information activities relating to population. It was adopted 14 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 abstentions.

### Status in Family Law

In line with its regular practice, the Commission considered questions in the field of private (family) law, dealing at this session with annulment of marriage, judicial separation, and divorce. Earlier Commission studies, and especially the regional seminars on family law, had made it clear that injustice in this field threatens the security of the family as a whole as well as that of the wives and mothers. The merits of divorce were not discussed, but the Commission endorsed the principle that rights should be equal in the event of dissolution of marriage by whatever legal or customary process this might come about. There was consensus that facilities for reconciliation should be made available, and the discussion also stressed the need for eliminating private, one-party divorce action in which the wife does not have an opportunity to protect her rights.

As adopted, the resolution recommended that appropriate steps for reconciliation be taken before the institution of divorce proceedings; that divorce or judicial separation be granted only by a competent judicial authority; that it be legally recorded; and that both spouses have the same rights and have available the same legal grounds and defenses.

### Employment and Equal Pay

On the economic aspects of women's status the ILO presented a series of reports. It was recognized that in the present era of rapid industrial development womanpower is of ever-increasing importance for social and economic progress. Representatives expressed the view that the right to employment constituted one of the principal factors in the emancipation of women.

An "International Survey of Part-Time Employment," prepared by the International Labor Office in response to the joint interest of the Commission and the ILO, led to a discussion on how to protect part-time workers—the majority of whom are women—from exploitation, and full-time workers from unfair competition. The solution to many women's employment problems was felt to lie in better vocational training and more realistic vocational guidance for girls during their school years. The ILO reports in this field noted both changes and progress; the fact that women were becoming better equipped to work, with better opportunities and less dis-

crimination, reinforced the need for enlightened guidance which would expand occupational horizons for girls and women in the context of new national goals and conditions.

The ILO also presented a report on equal pay. It noted increasing acceptance of the principle but considered progress disappointingly slow, with conditions in some countries actually worsening. Among the problems mentioned were the traditional division of most industries into "women's work" and "men's work," making it difficult to obtain a realistic comparison of skill and performance; the relatively low level of women's participation in trade unions, thus weakening the representation of women's interests in collective bargaining; and the unwillingness of many girls to make the necessary effort to develop their full vocational potential. The U.S. Representative reported the success of our Federal Equal Pay Act and the progress in many of our States having equal pay laws.

Later, the ILO convened a meeting of consultants to consider problems of women workers, with consultants drawn from labor and employee groups as well as governments. Mrs. Mary Dublin Keyserling, Director of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor, was the consultant from the United States. Three topics were considered: how to improve vocational training in the light of present-day employment of women, including provision within the general education available to girls; ILO action in relation to the economic and social advancement of women in developing countries, including provision of special technical advice; and the application of ILO standards relating to women's employment, including equal pay for equal work, maternity protection, and nondiscrimination. The group decided that there was a need to elaborate further standards on vocational education, part-time employment for all workers, employment in domestic service, and employment in agriculture.

### Education

"Access to Education," which is regularly considered on the basis of information from UNESCO, focused at this session on secondary education. Compulsory free education was recognized as essential; otherwise parents tend to send boys to school and neglect the education of girls. The Commission repeatedly emphasized that education is basic to the solution of most problems of women in developing countries. A highlight of the discussion was a report on literacy campaigns conducted in Iran, with the help of soldiers in the army, aimed at teaching communities to read.

In June UNESCO convened a group of consultants in Paris to recommend program objectives and projects that UNESCO might

undertake during a 5- or 10-year period. Mrs. Gladys Tillett represented the United States.

### *Advisory Services in the Field of Human Rights*

Two seminars were held in 1965 under the program of Advisory Services in the Field of Human Rights. At the invitation of the Government of Yugoslavia, the first was held in Ljubljana, June 8-22, on the subject of "The Multinational Society." This was the first human rights seminar held on a worldwide rather than a regional basis, with invitations extended to all member states then serving on ECOSOC. Participants came from 19 countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. The U.S. participant was Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel P. Moynihan.

The second was a regional seminar held in Ulan Bator, August 3-17, at the invitation of the Government of Mongolia, on the subject, "Participation of Women in Public Life." Participants came from countries within the geographical scope of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. The U.S. observer delegation was headed by Mrs. Gladys Tillett, U.S. Representative on the Status of Women Commission. It was noted that the first seminar under the human rights program, in 1957 in Bangkok, had also discussed the participation of Asian women in public life. Although new opportunities had opened for women in many countries during the intervening years, there was general agreement that women could not make a full contribution to national development until they had achieved equality of dignity and rights in the family as well as in public life.

During the 39th ECOSOC session, members expressed satisfaction with the progress of the Advisory Services Program and approved its plans for 1966, which included regional seminars in Africa, Europe, and the Far East. The Secretary-General also reported an increasing demand for the fellowships on human rights that are offered under this Program.

### *Slavery*

During its 39th session ECOSOC considered a report on slavery submitted by Mr. Mohamed Awad, the Special Rapporteur appointed pursuant to a 1963 Council resolution. The report contained information received from 53 member states and from interested non-governmental organizations in reply to a questionnaire. Noting that more than half the members of the United Nations had not replied, the Council limited its action to urging such states to respond, and decided to continue consideration at its 1966 summer session.



*Declaration on Promotion of Peace Ideals Among Youth*

On December 7, 1965, the 20th General Assembly adopted a "Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples," which had been proposed originally by Romania in 1962. During earlier consideration the United States and others had questioned the need for such a declaration, particularly since the UNESCO Constitution includes similar objectives. UNESCO was accordingly asked to prepare a survey of exchange programs and other activities for young people that might contribute to international understanding, and the UNESCO International Conference on Youth at Grenoble, France, in August 1964 considered a draft of the declaration. In 1965 a large number of other delegations joined Romania in sponsoring a revised text. After consideration in the Third Committee, general agreement was reached on a declaration composed of a preamble and six principles.

The Declaration calls attention to the suffering war inflicts, especially on young people, and emphasizes their future responsibility "to guide the fortunes of mankind." It calls upon governments, nongovernmental organizations, and youth movements to insure the observance of the principles, which urge that young people shall be brought up and educated in the spirit of peace, justice, freedom, mutual respect, and understanding, and with a knowledge of the dignity and equality of all men. Further, young people shall be encouraged through exchange programs, the work of youth associations, and other activities to strengthen the consciousness of their responsibilities in the world.

The United States took the lead in proposing the addition of specific references to the United Nations, and these were accepted. As a result, Principle II includes among the objectives of education an understanding of "the role entrusted to the United Nations as a means of preserving and maintaining peace and promoting international understanding and cooperation," and Principle V states, in part, that "national and international associations of young people should be encouraged to promote the purposes of the United Nations."

## SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

*International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)*

Recognizing the vital need for international capital to help reconstruction after World War II and to raise living standards and

productivity, particularly in the less developed areas of the world, the United States in concert with over 40 other nations established the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) in 1944. Since that time, the World Bank has grown to a membership of 103 nations with authorized capital of \$24 billion, making it the largest multilateral provider of financial assistance in the world. The United States subscribes \$6,350 million or 29 percent of the total subscribed capital of \$21.6 billion.

The Bank's primary function is to provide loans where private capital is not available on reasonable terms to finance development in its member countries. It also furnishes a wide variety of technical assistance. The Bank derives its lending resources principally from borrowings in private capital markets. Its outstanding funded debt at the end of 1965 was \$2,727 million. The Bank also derives funds from the sales of parts of its loans (totaling \$1,940 million at the end of 1965), repayments of principal, and income from operations.

By December 31, 1965, the World Bank had made 446 loans to 77 countries for a total of \$9,312 million. Bank loan commitments in 1965 were over \$1 billion and gross disbursements over \$600 million. Almost 70 percent of the Bank's loans have been to developing countries, mostly for projects in the fields of transportation, electric power, industry, and agriculture.

As needs for development finance have changed and become more acute, the World Bank and its affiliated institutions have directed their policies and operations accordingly. The Bank has maintained its reputation as a prudent financial institution and, therefore, its ability to borrow in private capital markets. At the same time it has enjoyed a flexibility of policy that makes it responsive to the growing needs of the developing countries for long-term assistance. For example, more of the Bank's resources have been made available to the International Development Association and the International Finance Corporation; maturities and grace periods for loans have been lengthened; increased emphasis has been given to agriculture, education, and industry; and more staff and resources have been devoted to technical assistance than ever before.

In conjunction with those efforts, the Bank has exercised leadership in promoting coordination between developed and developing countries. It has established close working relationships with other members of the U.N. system by cooperating with the Food and Agriculture Organization and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in promoting agricultural and educational development. It also acts as Executing Agency for some of the pre-investment projects financed by the U.N. Development Program. It has established regional offices in eastern and western Africa to

assist in the identification and preparation of projects for presentation to the Bank or International Development Association. In 1965 the Bank sponsored the formation of two consultative groups, for Thailand and Malaysia, bringing to six the number of such groups which coordinate assistance activities for individual developing countries. It is also seeking to revitalize existing consultative groups and plans to establish new ones as the need arises. The Bank sponsors consortia for assistance to India and Pakistan and administers the Indus Basin Development Fund. These three enterprises alone have provided a total of almost \$8 billion over the past 5 years to India and Pakistan.

During the past year, the World Bank has continued its research and analysis on topics such as development finance and external debt and has made studies for the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development. These efforts have contributed significantly toward better understanding of the international financial and economic environment in which development progresses.

### *International Finance Corporation (IFC)*

The International Finance Corporation (IFC) was established in 1956 as an affiliate of the World Bank to assist the industrial development of its less advanced member countries. The Corporation furthers investment in productive private enterprises through subscriptions to capital stock, through combinations of stock subscriptions and loans, and through loans with equity or other special features. It invests in association with private investors when sufficient private capital is not available on reasonable terms.

The IFC has 80 members and an authorized capital of \$110 million, of which \$99 million has been subscribed. The United States subscribes \$35.168 million or 35.5 percent of the total capital stock. In 1965 member governments approved amendments to the Articles of Agreement of the Corporation and the IBRD which will enable the IFC to borrow up to approximately \$400 million from the World Bank for relending to private enterprises without government guarantee.

The Corporation has been given increased responsibility for enhancing the effectiveness of the World Bank group (IBRD, IFC, and International Development Association—IDA) in financing industrial development. The IFC now acts for the group in the technical and financial appraisal, preparation, and supervision of industrial and mining projects. The IFC's activities in this field are comparable with its responsibilities for development finance companies that may



lead to IFC investments, World Bank loans, IDA credits, or a combination of these.

By the end of 1965 the IFC had made 112 investments and standby and underwriting commitments totaling \$147 million, of which more than 90 percent were for developing countries. About \$22 million of commitments were made in 1965.

### *International Development Association (IDA)*

By 1960 there was a growing number of less developed countries that needed and could make use of additional capital, but that were accumulating excessive debt servicing burdens. To help meet that situation, and largely in response to a U.S. initiative, the International Development Association (IDA) was established as an affiliate of the World Bank. The IDA provides development credits on terms designed to impose far less burden on the balance of payments of borrowing countries than those for conventional loans.

The Association has the same management and staff as the World Bank and provides financing for the same general range of projects. It has a membership of 96 countries with subscriptions and supplementary resources totaling the equivalent of about \$1.75 billion. Eighteen members, comprising the more industrially advanced (Part I) countries, make their entire contributions in gold or convertible currencies, all of which may be used for lending. The less advanced (Part II) members pay only one-tenth of their contributions in gold or currencies usable for lending. Initial usable subscriptions totaled approximately \$780 million. With IDA's resources nearing depletion, Part I countries agreed in 1964 to provide the Association with an additional \$750 million, over a 3-year period beginning in 1965. The U.S. share is \$632.29 million or about 42 percent of the total Part I member contributions. IDA resources have been augmented by special contributions from Sweden, by the release in convertible currency of some Part II member local currency portions of their subscriptions, and by transfers of portions of the World Bank's net income.

By the end of 1965, IDA had made 79 credits to 30 developing countries, totaling \$1,193 million. Commitments averaged about \$300 million annually during 1964 and 1965, and disbursements over \$200 million. Credits have been principally for projects in the fields of transportation, industry, and agriculture.

### *International Monetary Fund (IMF)*

The United States has played an important role in the policies and operations of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) since its

establishment. At the end of 1965 the total quotas in the Fund amounted to \$15,977 million, of which the U.S. quota was \$4,125 million (25.8 percent). In accordance with resolutions adopted at the 1964 annual meeting in Tokyo, the Executive Directors of the Fund proposed a 25 percent general increase in the Fund quota of all of the members, with special increases for certain countries whose economic position had changed since the last revision of quotas. Appropriate legislation was presented to the U.S. Congress and approved June 2, 1965, providing for an increase of \$1,035 million in the U.S. quota. The United States accepted this increase in its quota and made the requisite payment in gold and currencies to the Fund on June 30, 1965. When the total increases become effective the aggregate Fund quotas will be about \$21 billion equivalent, with the U.S. share \$5,160 million. The increase in the quotas of countries that have accepted became effective in February 1966.

The United States made its first drawings from the Fund in 1964. Prior to that time, U.S. dollars had been extensively drawn from the Fund by other countries. Countries also repurchased their currencies from the Fund largely with dollars. Beginning in 1964 the United States made a series of "technical drawings" from the Fund. Under its Articles of Agreement the Fund may not accept in the settlement of repurchase obligations the currency of any country if it already holds that country's currency to the extent of 75 percent or more of that country's quota. This point was reached in July 1963.

To enable countries that had dollars in their reserves to use these effectively in repaying the Fund, the United States undertook to sell to these countries, for dollars, foreign currencies which the United States drew from the Fund. At the end of 1965 total technical drawings amounted to the equivalent of \$660 million in various foreign currencies. In July 1965, the United States made a regular drawing equivalent to \$300 million for use in its foreign exchange operations. As the result of drawings of dollars by other countries in the course of 1964-65, however, the United States net drawing from the Fund was reduced to \$383.5 million at the end of the year. To the end of 1965 total drawings of dollars by other countries had aggregated \$4.9 billion and repurchases with dollars \$3.6 billion.

The United States has supported an important role for the Fund in any future modifications of the international monetary system intended to deal with the problem of international liquidity. The problem of liquidity is receiving increased attention, since, with the reduction of the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit and its eventual elimination, it will be more difficult for countries to acquire the levels of monetary reserves they may desire. A first step toward increasing monetary liquidity was the addition to Fund quotas already noted.

To further improve the international monetary system, discussions are continuing both in the Fund and in the "Group of Ten"—those Fund members (Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Sweden, U.K., U.S.) participating in the General Arrangements to Borrow, under which they agree to lend to the Fund specified amounts of their currencies if supplementary resources should be needed to forestall or cope with an impairment of the international monetary system.

### *Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)*

The work of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) has two broad purposes: (1) to serve as a clearing house for the assembly and exchange of information and to provide international and regional forums for discussion of common problems; and (2) to give technical advice and assistance to the developing countries in the fields of agriculture, fisheries, forestry, nutrition and home economics. On June 30, 1965, FAO was acting as executing agency for 210 U.N. Special Fund projects with a total Special Fund allocation of \$181,352,300. At the same time FAO had 1,260 experts in the field under the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance.

#### 13th FAO Conference

On the occasion of its 20th anniversary, President Johnson sent a congratulatory message to the 13th FAO Conference which met at Rome, November 8 to December 9, 1965:

The United States Government recognizes the great importance of the work of the Food and Agriculture Organization. We live in a world where many people suffer from hunger or malnutrition, or both, and where the situation threatens to worsen because of the rapidly rising population. In my recent message to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, on the occasion of the World Population Conference, I said that the problem of bringing into balance the world's resources and the world's population is second only to the search for peace as humanity's greatest challenge.

At the session Mrs. Dorothy H. Jacobson, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, who headed the U.S. delegation, said:

It is fitting that we here pay tribute to the achievements of FAO during those 20 years. It is even more fitting that we take inspiration from the progress already made to chart higher goals for the years ahead. The goal toward which FAO must now chart its course is nothing less than the conquest of hunger in this generation.

Recognizing the present inadequate levels of nutrition in many countries, the rapid upswing in the world's population and the failure



of agricultural production in many developing countries to keep pace with population, and the increasing demands which this situation will place upon FAO, the 13th session of the FAO Conference took two important actions.

First, it authorized FAO to formulate a plan for agricultural development in the world with particular emphasis on the problems of the developing countries. The first part of this plan will project to 1975 and 1985 supply-demand balances for agricultural commodities on a worldwide basis. The second part will construct a model for analyzing economic growth and agricultural development in the developing subregions. The plan will be a major activity of the Organization during the next 2 years. The United States is cooperating in this project.

As its second major action, the Conference, recognizing that the world situation has changed substantially since FAO was founded, approved a full review of the Organization's general structure during 1966-67. The review will examine carefully FAO's structure to determine if it can fulfill the Organization's future responsibilities. The United States took the lead in initiating the review.

During the year, FAO's regular program activities continued to progress.

### Agricultural Production

One of the major objectives of FAO is to assist member countries to increase their food production. The Indicative World Plan approved by the 13th FAO Conference should put into proper perspective the problems confronted by the developing nations. The Secretariat divisions dealing with plants, animals, soils, and water have already begun work on the basic input factors that will go into the study and have established working committees in order to obtain an integrated approach.

A substantial percentage of the 210 U.N. Special Fund projects and the activities of the 1,260 experts under the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance mentioned earlier relate to projects aimed at increasing agricultural production.

### Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign

Under the Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign FAO has stressed the importance of fertilizer to increase production and contribute to the economical development of member countries. This program is carried out by fertilizer demonstrations and pilot schemes. During the past 5 years operations have been conducted in the Near East, North Africa, West Africa, and northern Latin America. It is

proposed to enlarge the work to include new regions in Southeast Asia, East Africa, and South America. Other factors such as good seed, adequate cultivation, sufficient moisture, and protection from crop pests are also taken into consideration. Present plans call for 65,000 trials and demonstrations, which would reach over half a million farmers. The U.S. fertilizer industry has actively supported this program.

### Pesticides

The work on pesticides has increased and the Working Parties that were established in 1964 on Pesticide Residues, Official Control on Pesticides, and Pest Resistance to Pesticides, have made material contributions. The 13th FAO Conference assigned a high priority to increasing the staff and the supporting facilities which would enable FAO to assume a leadership role within international organizations with respect to work on pesticides. The importance of work on pesticides cannot be overemphasized since it can have a material effect on our export markets for agricultural products.

### Animal Health Programs

One of FAO's major contributions in animal husbandry is its assistance in the control of outbreaks of animal diseases. FAO is carrying out programs of animal health education at all levels, stressing training at the farmer level, since no progress can be successful without the cooperation of the livestock owners. The 1965 FAO Conference approved "An Emergency Fund for the Control of Outbreaks of Livestock Diseases," which will permit FAO to act rapidly in the event of a serious outbreak. The money for this emergency fund will be drawn from the organization's Working Capital Fund.

### Fisheries

On the recommendation of the 12th session of the FAO Conference in 1963, FAO in 1965 conducted an intensive review and evaluation of its fisheries work, including its organization, programs, and activities. The Conference had requested the Director General to outline measures to insure that FAO in future years would be the leading intergovernmental body in encouraging rational harvesting of food from the oceans and inland waters of the world, and had asked the FAO Council to consider the status of the Fisheries Division. These recommendations were to be considered by the 13th session of the Conference. FAO established an *Ad Hoc* Committee which met

March 8-12, 1965, to consider two major proposals of the Director General: (1) the elevation of the Fisheries Division to a Department, with an Assistant Director General; and (2) the establishment of a Permanent Advisory Committee on Fisheries to advise the Director General and the Council on policy and program matters in the fisheries field. These proposals were adopted later in the year by the 44th session of the Council and by the 13th Conference. Consequently, it is expected that greater effort will be expended in the future on international resource assessment and utilization, cooperative explorations and scientific investigations, technological and economic studies, and technical assistance. The United States played a major role in stimulating the FAO to give more attention to fisheries.

FAO continued to provide research on stock assessment, detailed statistical data on catch and species by country and region of the world, and services and advice in fishery technology, economics, and trade. Technical assistance activities were expanded as the number of fishery field projects executed for the U.N. Special Fund increased.

During 1965 FAO sponsored or cosponsored several meetings on subjects of interest to fishery administrators and scientists throughout the world. Among these were: (1) Third FAO Technical Meeting on Fishing Boats, Sweden, October 23-25; (2) FAO Seminar on Fisheries Administration and Planning, Ivory Coast, March 8-27; (3) Seminar and Study Tour on Fishermen's Training, U.S.S.R., August 26-September 17; (4) Second session of the Working Party on Rational Utilization of Tuna Resources in the Atlantic Ocean, Italy, July 6-13; and (5) Third session of the FAO/WHO Codex Alimentarius Commission, Italy, October 19-29.

The third session of the FAO Advisory Committee on Marine Resources Research met March 1-5, 1965, at Rome and concentrated on developing the FAO fisheries program for 1966-67 and succeeding years. The Committee also discussed marine pollution, cooperation with regional fisheries councils and commissions, and plans for future fisheries meetings. FAO also continued to cooperate closely on fishery and oceanography matters with UNESCO, the World Health Organization, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and other independent and U.N.-affiliated organizations.

## Nutrition

The progress of the FAO Nutrition Division during 1965 was particularly noteworthy in the following areas: (1) improvement in the coverage and accuracy of the food balance sheets; (2) the initiation of the preparation of food composition tables for Africa; (3) the publication of "Protein Requirement," a report of the Joint FAO/WHO



Expert Group on Protein Requirements; and (4) the initiation of a program to collect and interpret information on the cultural, social, and economic factors that influence patterns of food consumption in families, changes needed to improve such patterns, and how such changes can best be accomplished.

### Food Standards

The third session of the Codex Alimentarius Commission (sponsored jointly by FAO and WHO) was held at Rome, October 19–29, 1965. This session discussed the progress of work and accomplishments of Codex committees and other specialized bodies to which assignments had been made at previous sessions for the promulgation of draft standards and the preparation of various documents and reports.

Among the major decisions reached at the third session was the adoption of a statement of General Principles which will guide the Commission in the purpose and scope of its food standards work. A single type of food standard to be known as a Codex Standard now replaces “trading” and “minimum platform” standards. Such a Codex Standard could be developed and accepted according to circumstances on a worldwide, regional, or country basis. Also specified are the components which, in whole or in part, would constitute a Codex Standard. Thus the Commission now has a format for the provisions that may be included in Codex Standards to reflect the needs of buyers and sellers, safeguard the interests of consumers, and facilitate international trade.

A basic objective of the Commission is to simplify and harmonize international food standards work by (1) setting priorities in the development of standards, (2) coordinating and supplementing the work of other bodies in this field, and (3) providing for the preparation of draft standards at the government level and their publication in a consolidated *Codex Alimentarius*.

The United States has participated actively in the work of the Codex Commission and its committees, providing guidance and leadership which have won recognition from other participating countries. The United States has helped to steer the program toward an international rather than a limited regional approach.

The Commission's work includes the development of standards for a range of food products significant in international trade, such as sugars, fats and oils, processed fruits and vegetables, meats, fish, and other products. Three Codex committees which are developing standards in their respective fields—those on Processed Fruits and Vegetables, Food Hygiene, and Poultry and Poultry Meat Products—are chaired by the United States.

## Forestry

The third session of the FAO/North American Forestry Commission was held October 18-22, 1965, in Washington, D.C. The reports of the four Working Groups (Forest Fire Control, Forest Insects and Diseases, Forest Genetics, and Forest Recreation and Wildlife) revealed the value of a coordinated approach to problems common to the three member countries, the United States, Canada, and Mexico. The joint publication of fire loss statistics on a uniform basis, accelerated exchange of research results among fire research organizations, and joint plans for strengthening fire control practices for fires near country borders are especially noteworthy. Joint action by the United States and Canada, and by the United States and Mexico in research on, and control of, certain insects and diseases that operate across international borders is also significant. The proposed work of the more recently formed Working Groups in Forest Genetics and in Wildlife and Outdoor Recreation holds promise for equally beneficial results.

The 13th session of the FAO Conference approved a U.S. proposal to establish a Committee on Forest Development in the Tropics. The Director General will set up the committee, whose terms of reference are to study technical, economic, and social problems relating to the development of tropical forests, particularly in developing countries. Accordingly, the committee will examine the feasibility of timber production, and the utilization, conversion, and marketing of forest products.

The United States recognizes the impact that a sound forestry program can have on the economic and social development of many tropical nations. Furthermore, a sound tropical forestry program should help to assure future supplies of mahogany and other valuable tropical woods that are imported into the United States and other developed countries. Because of numerous and complex obstacles, however, tropical forestry development has so far reached only a fraction of its potential.

At the request of FAO, the U.S. Forest Service furnished three scientists to study the biological-genetical aspects of the severe bark beetle epidemic in Honduras. This is the same bark beetle that causes heavy damage annually to the pine timber stands of the southern United States. Although the study of specimens from Honduras is still under way in our laboratories, the scientists report that they have already gained scientific information that will be useful not only to Honduras but also to the United States.

The United States is a member of the FAO/Asia-Pacific Forestry Commission. Increased federal forestry activities in Hawaii and other

U.S. Pacific areas warrants this membership. Our forestry projects in these areas should benefit from the activities of the Commission.

The United States continues to support the work programs of the FAO Latin American Forestry Commission.

### **Publications**

FAO publishes an agricultural production yearbook and a trade yearbook, a forestry and fisheries yearbook, substantiative and statistical reports and studies on world food problems, summaries of new technical and economic findings, and other materials that are useful to its members, including the United States.

### **World Food Program**

The World Food Program (WFP) established in 1962 by the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organization as a 3-year experiment in multilateral food aid, has been strongly supported by the United States. During the 1963-65 experimental period, 70 nations pledged a total of \$93.8 million (\$68.9 million in commodities, \$5 million in services and \$19.9 million in cash) toward a target of \$100 million. A total of 116 development and emergency feeding projects were approved during the period.

At the end of the 3-year trial period on December 31, 1965, the United States had authorized shipment of \$33.3 million worth of the \$40 million pledge of U.S. agricultural products for the program. The United States has contributed \$5 million in cash for the administrative and operational costs of the program and has agreed to pay 50 percent of the ocean transportation charges on commodities furnished by the United States and shipped on U.S. vessels. At the close of 1965, final plans were being worked out to meet the full U.S. commitment for the program.

During calendar year 1965, about \$19 million worth of U.S. vegetable oils, wheat, flour, feed grains, milk, and milk products were authorized for shipment under the WFP.

Examples of the wide-ranging projects carried out by the WFP in 1965 include: diet improvement in government hospitals in Jordan, food for agricultural training schools in Tunisia, animal feeds in connection with agrarian reform in Syria, permanent settlement of Mozambique refugees in Tanzania, rehabilitation programs in Nepal, development of poultry and swine industries in Ghana, national malaria eradication program in Turkey, expansion of the poultry industry in India, construction of community facilities in Peru, wheat price stabilization in Ethiopia, food for reforestation project in the Republic of China, training centers for skilled laborers in Chile, and multipurpose rural area development in Malawi.



After a review of WFP operations during the experimental period, the United Nations and FAO voted in 1965 to establish the WFP on a continuing basis and to adopt a goal of \$275 million in resources for the years 1966-68. The United States pledge toward this goal includes (1) up to \$92 million in agricultural commodities, subject to the condition that the U.S. contribution is matched on a 50/50 basis by other contributors; (2) sufficient shipping services (estimated at \$32 million) to transport U.S. commodities; and (3) up to \$6 million in cash for administrative and operational costs of the program subject to the condition that the U.S. share does not exceed 40 percent of the total cash contribution. The pledge was made subject to appropriate action by the Congress.

### *International Labor Organization (ILO)*

#### **International Labor Conference**

The 49th International Labor Conference, which is the standards setting body of the ILO, met in June 1965. Member states are represented at the Conference by tripartite delegations: two government, one worker, and one employer delegates, each with a separate vote. The Conference dealt, *inter alia*, with international labor standards concerning the employment of young persons for underground work in mines and the employment of women with family responsibilities. It adopted a resolution on agrarian reform, with particular reference to employment and social aspects; took note of a special report on developments concerning *apartheid* in South Africa; and adopted resolutions on paid educational leave, conditions of employment of domestic workers, vocational rehabilitation of the disabled, industrial activities of the ILO, and supporting ILO cooperation with the concerted U.N. program of studies on the economic and social consequences of disarmament.

The Conference also dealt with the ILO budget for 1966. As compared with a net expenditure budget of \$18,684,347 for the calendar year 1965, the Conference approved a net expenditure budget of \$20,337,871 for 1966.

The withdrawal of South Africa from the ILO effective March 11, 1966, resulted in a net loss of 0.13 percent in the scale of contributions for 1966 requiring, for the first time in years, an upward adjustment of some members' rates of assessment. This triggered a drive, principally among the smaller contributors, for a major revision of the ILO scale to conform to the U.N. scale of assessments. The maximum rate of assessment in the United Nations is the U.S. contribution of 31.91 percent, and the minimum is 0.04 percent. In the ILO, the

maximum is 25 percent (U.S.) and the minimum is 0.12 percent (three times the U.N. minimum rate). The United States is not in a position to agree to an increase in its assessment rate since there is a statutory ceiling of 25 percent on the U.S. contribution to the ILO budget (Public Law 85-477 of June 30, 1958).

After lengthy debate in the Finance Committee, a scale was adopted for 1966 which did not change the maximum or minimum rates. However, the Conference requested the Governing Body to ". . . consider studies and background work that would be required with respect to achieving early and substantial progress toward improving the ILO scale . . ." At 25 percent of the 1966 ILO budget, the U.S. assessment will be \$5,084,468.

### ILO Governing Body

The ILO Governing Body met three times during 1965. It also is tripartite, having 24 government members (the 10 states of chief industrial importance have automatic membership, with 14 states being elected for 3-year terms by the government group of the Conference), and 12 employer and 12 worker members elected by their respective groups in the Conference.

The Governing Body reviews and recommends the ILO budget to the Conference; supervises the International Labor Office (secretariat); determines the agenda of the Conference; appoints, convenes, and reviews the work of various tripartite industrial committees, committees of experts, and other bodies; reviews complaints of alleged violations of freedom of association; and, generally, acts as the Board of Directors of the Organization.

The Governing Body established a Working Party on Program and Structure which held three meetings in 1965 to formulate proposals on the three major ILO programs (human development, social institutions, and conditions of life and work).

The Governing Body also, at its 163d session in November 1965, adopted by acclamation a resolution on Southern Rhodesia, shortly after the unilateral declaration of independence by the Smith regime. The resolution, which was communicated to the Security Council, stated that the ILO would refrain from having any official or unofficial contact, direct or indirect, with the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia and would ". . . do everything in its power to contribute in its own sphere to such action as may be decided upon by the Security Council."

### U.S. Representation

George L-P Weaver, Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, Department of Labor, continued to represent the U.S. Government

on the Governing Body in 1965. He was also Chairman and one of the two Government Delegates on the delegation to the International Labor Conference. George P. Delaney, Special Assistant to the Secretary and Coordinator of International Labor Affairs, Department of State, was the other U.S. Government Delegate. Richard Wagner, Director and Past President, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, was the Employer Delegate; and Rudolph Faupl, International Representative of the International Association of Machinists, was the Worker Delegate. Messrs. Faupl and Wagner also were members of the ILO Governing Body, having been elected by the worker and employer groups of the Conference, respectively, for terms ending in June 1966. Congressmen William H. Ayres and James Roosevelt served as Congressional Advisers to the delegation. Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell and Robert P. Griffin, also named as Congressional Advisers, were unable to attend due to the press of Congressional affairs.

### Membership

The ILO membership increased from 111 to 115, with the admission of Malawi, Malta, Singapore, and Yemen.

### Operational Programs of Technical Assistance

The United States has consistently supported the growth of ILO technical assistance activities. The activities financed from all sources—the U.N. Expanded Technical Assistance Program, the U.N. Special Fund, the regular ILO budget, and funds in trust—increased from about \$12.2 million in 1964 to about \$14.1 million in 1965. The number of technical assistance expert missions increased from 784 in 1964 to 819 in 1965. Manpower and vocational training projects accounted for 44 percent of the ILO's 1965 technical assistance activity. The remainder was in the fields of labor conditions and administration (25 percent), productivity and management development (16 percent), cooperatives, small-scale industries and handicrafts (12 percent), and social security (3 percent). Geographically, the largest effort was in Africa (about 35 percent), followed by Asia (about 24 percent), Latin America (about 21 percent), Near and Middle East (about 8.5 percent), Europe (6 percent), and inter-regionally (about 5.5 percent).

### Human Rights Activities

Following the example of Japan in 1964, the Government of Greece agreed to the referral of a complaint of violation of trade union



rights to the Fact Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association.

This machinery for the protection and promotion of a basic human right was jointly established by the ILO and the United Nations in 1950. It provides for the examination of complaints, filed by workers or employer organizations, that governmental actions are contravening their rights of association.

Such complaints are examined by a committee of the Governing Body, under carefully drawn procedures providing that both the complainant and the government are heard. It also provides that the case may, with the consent of the government concerned, be referred to a Fact Finding and Conciliation Commission to hear evidence, make an on-the-spot investigation, attempt conciliation, and submit a report, including recommendations.

This second agreement to refer a complaint to the Fact Finding Commission, following so closely on the heels of the first, is an encouraging sign of progress in the use of international machinery for the protection and promotion of human rights, despite the attacks to which it is continuously subjected by the Communist states that are members of the Organization.

After receiving the assent of the Greek Government to the referral of the case to the Commission, the Governing Body, at its 162d session in May 1965, appointed the following Panel of the Fact Finding and Conciliation Commission: Chairman—Erik Dreyer (Denmark), former Permanent Secretary to the Danish Ministry of Social Affairs and former President of the State Mediation Board; Members—Cesar Charlone (Uruguay), former Vice President of the Republic, former Minister of Labor and Social Affairs, Foreign Affairs, and Finance, and Henri Friol (France), Counsellor, *Cour de Cassation*, former Director of the Cabinet of the President of the National Assembly and former Director of the Cabinet of the President of the Republic.

The Panel held its first session in Geneva in July 1965 to determine its procedures in its initial examination of the case and to afford the Government of Greece and the organizations concerned the opportunity to submit further statements. It will begin hearing evidence at its next meeting in early 1966.

The Fact Finding Commission completed its on-the-spot study of the Japanese case and its discussions with the Japanese Government and trade unions concerned, and submitted its report to the 163d session of the Governing Body in November 1965. The report, approved by the Governing Body, made comprehensive recommendations to both the Japanese Government and to the trade unions on future action to be taken. It noted with satisfaction that,

since the examination of the complaint had begun, Japan had ratified ILO Convention No. 87 on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize, and high-level discussions between the government and labor had been initiated. Both of these steps had been recommended by the Commission.

### Standards Development

The 1965 International Labor Conference adopted five new instruments on international labor standards. Four dealt with the employment of young persons for underground work in mines of all kinds: a Convention and a Recommendation on the minimum age of admission to employment, a Convention on medical examination for fitness for employment, and a Recommendation on conditions of work. The fifth instrument was a Recommendation on the employment of women with family responsibilities.

The minimum age Convention provides that the minimum age for employment in underground work shall in no case be less than 16 years. The minimum age Recommendation sets 18 as the minimum age, but provides that, under adequate supervision, 16- and 17-year-olds may be employed underground for purposes of apprenticeship or other systematic vocational training. The medical examination Convention provides for a thorough medical examination, and periodic reexaminations at at least 1-year intervals, for persons under 21 years of age. The conditions of employment Recommendation deals with health, safety, weekly rest, vacations, and training. The U.S. Government and Worker Delegates supported the adoption of these four instruments, and the U.S. Employer Delegate abstained.

The Recommendation on the employment of women with family responsibilities indicates the types of measures through public and private action that might be taken to conduct educational and information programs on employment problems of women with family responsibilities; to provide child care services and facilities; to provide education, vocational guidance, training and retraining; to provide services and facilities enabling the women to carry on their dual roles without discrimination; and to assure reasonable maternity leave, reemployment rights, and retention of rights accrued through employment.

The Conference also adopted conclusions to serve as the basis for final action in 1966 on a Recommendation concerning the role of cooperatives in the economic and social development of developing countries.

## *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)*

### **Education**

UNESCO accepted in 1965 the U.S. view that its World Campaign for Universal Literacy should be shifted to a more realistic and experimental basis, employing selective strategy in a number of pilot projects carefully selected throughout the world. At the World Congress of Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy, convened by UNESCO in Tehran during September 1965, this basic idea was unanimously approved. The Congress also decided that adult literacy should be functional, that illiteracy should be attacked as only one integrated sector of a country's overall education and economic development plans, and that increased financial aid should be sought, mainly from extra-budgetary U.N. Development Program resources.

At a subsequent international conference in November 1965 at Bangkok, the Ministers of Education of 18 Asian member states of UNESCO and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, meeting to discuss long-term overall plans for educational development for their countries, reaffirmed the educational philosophy of selective strategy in regard to illiteracy eradication enunciated at Tehran. In addition, this conference agreed that the Draft Asian Model, specially prepared by the UNESCO Secretariat for long-term educational planning, could be used only if it were appropriately modified to meet the specific educational and developmental needs of each individual nation. The newly chartered Asian Development Bank in Manila was recommended to the Asian member states as a future source of financing for high priority educational projects within the area.

UNESCO continued in 1965 to increase its support and utilization of the International Institute for Educational Planning. This separate institute in Paris, founded and directed by an American prominent in education circles, Philip Coombs, served as the meeting place in June 1965 for U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance educational planners and experts drawn from 16 Asian and African countries. In addition to discussing their activities and exchanging views on problems and possible solutions, these experts sought to define on the basis of their active experience certain general principles for the orientation and improvement of future UNESCO programs in member states.

### **Natural Sciences and Their Application to Development**

International scientific cooperation in oceanography, hydrology, and seismology continued to proceed smoothly under UNESCO



sponsorship. The results of the oceanographic studies performed in earlier years were to a large extent evaluated, and, to a lesser extent, published in 1965, although publication is not yet complete. Data from oceanographic studies of the tropical Atlantic were under study and publication is being initiated. Early in 1965 interested countries met and agreed on plans for studies of the Kuroshio Current in the western Pacific. In February 1965 a UNESCO meeting in Honolulu recommended that the U.S. facility at Honolulu be made the center for a tidal wave warning network. This recommendation was accepted by the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission later in the year.

The association of UNESCO with the ECOSOC Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development was enhanced by having the third meeting of this committee at UNESCO's headquarters in April, when UNESCO's program in this important area was discussed. Later, in September, UNESCO, with the assistance of the Economic Commission for Latin America, held a regional meeting in Santiago, Chile, on the Application of Science and Technology to Development in Latin America.

The International Hydrological Decade (IHD) started in 1965 and the first meeting of its Coordinating Council of 21 member countries, including the United States, was held in June. The Council approved 66 resolutions outlining IHD activities. Most of the activities were among those which the U.S. National Committee had proposed to the Council. This means that the results of many of the hydrological studies carried on in the United States will be of scientific benefit to other countries cooperating in the IHD, and conversely.

UNESCO's science teaching activities, which are concentrated on pilot projects in physics, chemistry, biology, and mathematics, proceeded smoothly. The chemistry project has found wide support among the countries in Asia. Headed by an American, the project is being initiated with chemistry curricula developed in the United States. UNESCO is also promoting engineering education in the developing countries and, for this purpose, is working actively on the development of modern curricula and new methods for improvement of engineering education in the countries under development. The United States is assisting with an up-to-date report on engineering education in this country.

### **Social Sciences**

The United States has recommended several broad, long-range objectives which were formulated by the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO and designed to insure that UNESCO make a real contri-

bution to the development of the social sciences as disciplines, and to their proper use in support of the organization's developmental program.

In encouraging UNESCO to concentrate on a limited number of projects, the United States has urged it to make the maximum contribution to the effort within the entire U.N. system to cope with two priority areas, i.e., the population explosion and human rights problems.

With regard to the first, the United States suggested that UNESCO broaden its terms of reference with respect to activities in demography to include studies which would identify the most effective form of communication and education in the field of family planning, which can be used by countries, at their own request, in their population control programs.

With regard to the second, the United States urged UNESCO to enlist the cooperation of academic institutions and the international intellectual community in an effort to extend to all mankind the understanding and the practice of such basic rights as freedom of speech and information, freedom of conscience and religion, freedom of political choice and the responsibilities of self-government, as well as the means to overcome prejudice and discrimination in all aspects of human life.

### Cultural Activities

The Cultural Activities Program in 1965 was reorganized under three main headings: Encouragement of Artistic Creation, Protection of the Cultural Heritage, and the Dissemination of Culture. However, in line with the general emphasis in UNESCO on social and educational advancement in the developing countries, and in accord with U.S. views, a large segment of the program was devoted to the development of cultural institutions, especially national, public, and school libraries, archives, and documentation services. It was generally recognized that satisfactory educational, economic, social and technological development requires bibliographic and documentary resources. In fact, as this portion of the program assumed increasing importance, plans were begun to establish a new Department of Documentation in UNESCO in 1967 in order to enhance the function of documentation in the UNESCO program and to coordinate the documentation elements in each of the various program chapters; i.e., in education, the natural sciences, the social sciences, and cultural activities. In addition to seeking the counsel of the UNESCO Advisory Committee for Bibliography, Documentation and Terminology, which has an American member, UNESCO on two occasions

called in American specialists to participate in small advisory groups to help in the planning of the new department.

The advice of U.S. experts was also sought in developing a project for national planning of library services in Latin America, to be launched at a conference in Quito, Ecuador, in 1966. One aim of the meeting is the drawing up of a model plan which the Latin American countries can adapt as appropriate.

In large part UNESCO's activity in the arts and letters is carried out through international nongovernmental organizations which have been awarded consultative status with the Organization—the International Theatre Institute, the International Music Council, the International Association of Plastic Arts, the PEN Federation, the International Union of Architects, the International Council of Museums, and the International Council of Monuments and Sites. These organizations are devoted to keeping the lines open between artists, writers, musicians, architects, museum personnel, and preservationists throughout the world, and to furthering international understanding through the publication and exchange of works of art. Americans are active in all of the organizations.

An outstanding example of American participation occurred in 1965 when the U.S. Committee for the International Council of Museums obtained the cooperation of the New York State Museums Association, the Museums Council of the City of New York, the American Association of Museums, and the New York City Cultural Institutions Group in playing host to the Seventh General Conference of the International Council of Museums in New York City from September 25 to October 3, 1965. The Conference brought 600 council members from 63 countries—directors and other representatives of the world's leading museums—to the United States, many of them for the first time. According to Dr. James Rorimer, Director of the Metropolitan Museum and Vice President of the International Council of Museums, "New exhibitions, the exchange of museum personnel, foreign study, better scholarship and a wider distribution of publications will be among a few of the benefits of the conference."

Americans were also active participants in the Constitutional Assembly and the first General Assembly of the International Council of Monuments and Sites, held in Warsaw, Poland, in June 1965. The organization will provide for international collaboration in the study of urgent problems of preservation, reconditioning, and improvement of important monuments and sites.

In the UNESCO-sponsored Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia, work progressed in advance of schedule to keep pace with the construction of the Aswan High Dam. In particular, marked progress was made in the preservation of the two great temples of



Abu Simbel, toward which the United States contributed the Egyptian pound equivalent of \$12 million, to meet one-third of the total cost. The temples are being cut into blocks and moved to a new higher site, where they will be reconstructed and landscaped to duplicate their original appearance. The dismantling and moving of the temples is scheduled for completion in August 1966, and the entire project is scheduled for completion in 1970.

### Mass Communications and Fellowships

UNESCO continued to provide assistance to member states in developing information media, in training personnel in this field, and in encouraging the use of mass communication techniques in out-of-school education. These projects, supported by the United States, both encourage the growth of indigenous communications media in the developing countries, thus encouraging the free flow of information, and promote new approaches in the use of communications media for education, thus providing the widest access to education for children and adults alike. Personnel training was conducted in the member states as well as in cooperation with various centers of higher learning and regional institutes.

UNESCO convened a meeting of experts in December 1965, in Paris, to study the problems involved in the use of space communication by the mass media to promote the flow of information and to encourage the spread of educational and cultural exchange. This meeting was attended by three Americans: Wilbur Schramm, a well-known expert in the uses of communications media; Leonard Jaffe, Director of Communications and Navigation Programs for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration; and William Carter, Adviser on Satellite Communications to the Administrator of AID.

During the past year, 101 leaders, specialists, and students visited the United States under UNESCO auspices financed by UNESCO travel grants and fellowships. The great majority of these grantees came from Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

### U.S. National Commission for UNESCO

The U.S. National Commission for UNESCO was established by Congress in 1946 to advise the Government on UNESCO matters; to serve as a link with American organizations, institutions, and individuals interested in UNESCO activities; and to promote understanding of the objectives of UNESCO on the part of the people of the United States.

A major event of the Commission's activities during 1965 was its Tenth National Conference, held in Kansas City, Mo., November 16-19. Devoted to the theme, "Man, Knowledge and Freedom in International Development," the Conference was attended by some 1,200 delegates and observers, representing 127 national organizations, 95 colleges and universities, 36 states, and 28 foreign countries.

Advisory recommendations on UNESCO programs were forwarded to the Department of State by the Commission after its spring meeting. The UNESCO draft program for 1967-68, published in August 1965, included four of the broad objectives recommended by the Commission for UNESCO's program in the social sciences as well as other suggestions in the fields of the natural sciences, education, culture, and mass communications.

In addition to its annual promotion of Human Rights Week, December 10-17, the Commission reaffirmed its support for ratification and implementation of the international conventions on the Political Rights of Women, the Abolition of Slavery, the Abolition of Forced Labor, and Genocide.

Dr. Harvie Branscomb, Chairman of the National Commission, headed the U.S. delegation to the World Congress on the Eradication of Illiteracy convened by UNESCO at the invitation of the Shah of Iran at Tehran in September.

Taking cognizance of 1965 as International Cooperation Year, the Commission submitted a number of suggestions for consideration by the National Citizens' Commission in preparation for the White House Conference on International Cooperation. Twenty-three current and former members of the Commission played an active role in the Conference. Dr. Thomas F. Malone, newly elected Chairman of the Commission, headed the Committee on Meteorology and, at the final plenary session of the Conference, summarized the themes developed at the five Conference sessions on science.

In preparation for the observance of 1966 as UNESCO's Twentieth Anniversary Year, the Commission contracted for the production of a half-hour documentary film on UNESCO for release early in 1966 and initiated a lecture series on the theme "Education, Science and Culture in an Evolving World." Beginning in December, and organized in cooperation with the Joint Graduate Consortium of Washington Universities, one lecture per month by a recognized scholar was scheduled for each of the five participating universities.

In order to respond adequately to some 10,000 individual requests from the general public for information about UNESCO activities and U.S. participation in them, the Commission continued publication of its monthly newsletter, published revised editions of several of its leaflets and pamphlets as well as two new ones—*Forging the*

*Links*, a summary report of the international activities of the 60 national organizations represented on the Commission, and *Know UNESCO*, which suggests programs and lists resources for planning local community programs on UNESCO. A 250-page Background Book was prepared for participants in the Tenth National Conference and the *Kansas City Star* donated to the Commission a generous supply of its 4-page supplement "UNESCO and the Development Decade," to help promote understanding of UNESCO's work.

### Political Developments

Two political issues of significance arose at Executive Board meetings this year.

At the 70th Executive Board meeting the United States took the lead in opposing requests of four Communist-front organizations for consultative "B" status with UNESCO. All but one of the four were thwarted. The World Federation of Scientific Workers was granted category "B" status, while the International Organization of Journalists, the International Radio and Television Organization, and the International Union of Students were turned down on the grounds that these organizations do not meet UNESCO's criteria for consultative status with UNESCO.

After considerable debate, the 70th Executive Board meeting adopted a resolution inviting the Director General to conduct, with the authorization of the Portuguese Government, an inquiry into the present state of education in the Portuguese African territories. The resolution further called on the Director General not to "give effect" to invitations to Portugal for UNESCO-sponsored conferences, pending the results of the inquiry and their examination by the Board. The United States, voting against the resolution, maintained that Portugal, as a member of UNESCO, had a legal right to attend meetings convened by UNESCO.

Portugal then requested the Board to seek an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the validity of the 70th Executive Board action restricting Portuguese participation in UNESCO activities. At its 71st session, the Board considered this request as well as the questions of an invitation to Portugal for the 1966 Conference of Ministers of Education of European member states and an invitation to attend the International Conference on Public Education. The Board reiterated its position excluding Portugal from UNESCO-sponsored meetings. It did not accede to the request that it transmit the case to the International Court of Justice. Instead, the Board decided to refer the matter to the next General Conference.



## *World Health Organization (WHO)*

In 1964 the Director General of WHO declared that continuity was one of the fundamental criteria in planning the Organization's annual program. This quality was apparent during 1965 in WHO's work which, in accordance with the general program adopted by the Health Assembly for the current 5-year period, was directed toward the control of communicable diseases, the reduction of infant mortality, the improvement of nutrition, and the betterment of environmental conditions. At the same time, specific services were adapted to countries and their changing needs with a view to their economic and social development.

The convening by WHO of an Expert Committee on Water Pollution Control and of joint committees with the Food and Agriculture Organization on food additives and on the evaluation of the toxicity of pesticide residues in food are illustrative of the Organization's awareness of new problems. Continuity was evident not only in meetings of the expert committees on malaria and health statistics but in the great amount of attention given to education and training of personnel and to public health administration, in recognition of the importance of strengthening national health services for the ultimate attainment of WHO's objectives.

The United States continued its active support of WHO in its efforts to obtain "the highest level of health of all peoples."

### **18th World Health Assembly**

Pursuant to a White House announcement, the U.S. delegation to the Assembly (under the chairmanship of Dr. Luther Terry, Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service) proposed a world-wide campaign to eradicate smallpox. The Assembly, meeting at Geneva in May, adopted a resolution declaring the eradication of smallpox to be one of the major objectives of the Organization, and instructing the Director General to take the necessary steps, including the raising of funds, to speed up existing programs and to launch new programs against this disease.

The United States further offered to make available to the Organization the facilities of the Food and Drug Administration for the purpose of developing an international system for the monitoring of adverse reactions to drugs.

The U.S. delegation also supported the adoption of the resolution which requested the Director General to develop further studies on the "medical aspects of sterility and fertility control methods and the health aspects of population dynamics," and to provide advisory

services, on request of governments, on "the health aspects of human reproduction."

The Assembly approved an African-sponsored amendment to article 7 of the WHO Constitution which, if accepted by two-thirds of the members, will authorize the Assembly to suspend or expel any member that deliberately practices racial discrimination.

### **Malaria Eradication**

During 1965 the number of people living in areas from which malaria has been eradicated increased by 84 million. Pre-eradication programs are now being carried out in 19 African countries. Of the estimated population of 1,586 million in the original malarious areas (excluding mainland China, North Korea, and North Viet-Nam because no information is available), 885 million have been freed from the risk of malaria. In addition to technical assistance to individual countries conducting an eradication campaign, the Organization supervised training courses and supported research to discover the factors responsible for the difficulties encountered in problem areas, and sent out teams to assess the results in countries with well-advanced campaigns.

### **Community Water Supplies**

WHO assisted 71 developing countries in planning community water supplies. The training of local personnel and the establishment of agencies within the governmental structure to assure the sound development and management of future programs were important elements of this assistance. WHO is the executing agency for the U.N. Special Fund water supply projects for the two metropolitan areas of Accra and Calcutta. It will also serve as the executing agency for a similar project in Istanbul for which funds were approved in June 1965. WHO undertook the engineering and managerial studies necessary for drawing up the master plan for this project, as well as for other projects which will be financed by long-term loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Inter-American Development Bank.

### **Medical Research**

During the year, 13 new Reference Centers were added to the existing network bringing the total to 99. Of these, 19 are in the United States. These centers have been established for such purposes as identifying and classifying strains of causative agents and vectors associated with the outbreak of diseases in particular regions

and providing advice and specialized training on techniques to deal with disease problems. More than 40 meetings were held to review the present state of knowledge in various medical fields to indicate where research was needed, and to advise the Director General of subjects on which WHO research would be appropriate. By the end of the year 387 research projects were underway in collaboration with national or private research institutions. Of these, 143 were started in 1965, including studies in immunology, the biology of human reproduction, and human genetics—fairly new subjects among WHO's research activities. It should be noted that the research in human reproduction has been financed largely by a U.S. voluntary contribution.

### Other Communicable Diseases

WHO provided consultants, carried out pilot projects, put on demonstrations, and in other ways assisted countries in programs against other communicable diseases besides malaria and smallpox. Of these, the programs in the field of tuberculosis were the most numerous with 75 countries receiving WHO help. Ghana, Iraq, Iran, Sudan, and the United Arab Republic received assistance in their programs against bilharziasis (snail-borne fever); Ceylon against filariasis; China, Indonesia, Korea, and Thailand against leprosy. Field trials were sponsored in several areas for the purpose of improving methods of attacking these and other diseases such as plague, trachoma, trepanosomiasis, and the trepanematoses.

Cholera in its classic form remained endemic in Southeast Asia. WHO organized international training courses in cholera control in Calcutta, and offered an advanced course for bacteriologists at Tehran in anticipation of possible future outbreaks in areas that have been free of cholera for many years. The movement westward of cholera El Tor from the islands off Southeast Asia brought it to countries as far west as Iran. WHO provided vaccine, carried out epidemiological and bacteriological activities, and otherwise assisted Afghanistan, Nepal, and Iran, among others, in an effort to control and prevent the spread of this disease.

### Public Health Services

In line with the trend of its activities during the past several years, WHO emphasized the development and improvement of national and local health services. The subject of the technical discussions at the 18th Assembly was "Health Planning." One of the main topics was the applicability of standards and norms in determining health services and facilities to be provided. WHO, with funds contributed by



the United States for the purpose, assisted several individual countries in Africa, such as Gabon and Niger, in developing national health plans.

A total of 104 countries received help from WHO in the field of nursing during 1965, principally in nursing education. For example, basic training courses were assisted in Ghana and Kenya, advanced programs were established in India, the existing school of nursing in Niger was reorganized, and an advanced school of nursing education was opened in France to prepare French-speaking nurses from several countries for senior posts in nursing administration and in specialized branches of nursing.

Recognizing that the participation of the public is essential for the execution of almost every kind of health program, full-time advisers in health education were provided to a number of the developing countries, such as Afghanistan, Malaysia, and Korea. The health administrations of Costa Rica, Fiji, Viet-Nam, and other countries were also provided with expert advice in this field.

The United Nations Children's Fund provided supplies and equipment for a number of country programs for which WHO provided technical assistance in pediatrics, school health, and other facets of child and maternal care.

More than half of WHO's 1965 expenditures in the field went directly or indirectly for the building up and strengthening of integrated health services, and for the education and training of professional as well as auxiliary personnel required for these services. Impetus in several countries—Turkey, Algeria, and India, for example—for greater attention to the development of integrated health services resulted from the carrying out of malaria eradication programs, particularly when they had reached the consolidation or maintenance stage. Persons trained to carry out this program provided the nucleus for a general health service.

### Education and Training

About 1,750 persons were awarded fellowships by WHO during 1965 for public health and medical training at all levels. Many of the recipients studied in the United States. WHO also arranged for the inter-country exchange of professors of medicine and public health.

### Other Activities

WHO's activities outside the field of communicable diseases were divided among a wide range of subjects and were based, in part, upon requests of individual countries, arrangements and agreements

with other organizations, and recommendations of advisory and scientific groups. During 1965 its advisory services in the epidemiology of cancer and cardio-vascular diseases were extended to a larger number of countries. It conducted a series of country studies on the epidemiology of dental and periodontal diseases in Ceylon, India, Iraq, and Nigeria. A traveling seminar was organized in the U.S.S.R. to enable psychologists and public health officers to observe the system of psychiatric care and its relationship to general health services. An expert committee on Nutrition and Infection met in Geneva in March and considered the relationship between diseases and infectious agents and the effect of these diseases on the nutritional status of individuals and the community. WHO worked closely with FAO during the year in evaluating an applied nutrition program and in other activities relating to nutrition. It provided advice to national health authorities on measures to safeguard the public from radiation hazards and, jointly with the International Atomic Energy Agency, arranged a number of meetings in the field of radiobiology and radiation standards. In cooperation with the International Labor Organization, WHO considered various measures that had been proposed in regard to the health of seafarers, and developed studies in the field of occupational health, in anticipation of problems likely to arise with the industrialization of developing countries.

WHO also cooperated with the United Nations and other international organizations in studying the means of dealing with problems of housing and urban development in general.

For its activities in 1965 WHO obligated \$51,644,460 under its regular budget and from other funds administered by it. The U.S. assessed contribution to the Organization was \$12,327,120.

### *International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)*

#### **Aircraft Accident Investigation**

The United States welcomed the opportunity afforded by the third session of the Aircraft Accident Investigation Division of the ICAO, held in January and February 1965, to work with 31 other countries in drawing up a new set of rules designed to make more effective inquiries into aircraft accidents involving more than 1 country, and to distribute information about their causes more quickly. Several useful recommendations to the ICAO Council were formulated at the meeting. Of particular importance to the United States, as the world's major producer of transport category aircraft, were new provisions for participation in accident inquiries by the countries of manufacture of the aircraft involved.

### Special North Atlantic Meeting

The U.S. delegation was highly successful in accomplishing its objectives at the ICAO Special North Atlantic Meeting in February and March 1965. Agreement was reached among the 23 participating nations on the reduction in longitudinal separation of turbojet aircraft over the North Atlantic from 20 to 15 minutes as of June 1965. A program was approved for further investigation of the feasibility of reducing the lateral separation for turbojet aircraft from 120 to 90 nautical miles and the vertical separation for jet aircraft from 2,000 to 1,000 feet. The meeting also decided on an area weather forecast system for flight planning, with five forecast centers designated to provide all the forecasts used by aircraft flying between Europe and North America. Other recommendations of the meeting concerned improvements to be made in the next 5 years and included several in the field of aeronautical communications. The United States will participate with five other nations in the ICAO North Atlantic Systems Planning Group, recommended by the meeting continuously to study, monitor, and evaluate the air navigation system.

### ICAO Assembly

The 15th session of the ICAO Assembly, held at ICAO Headquarters in Montreal in June and July 1965, opened with a special celebration of the 20th anniversary of the opening for signature of the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation. The Assembly, meeting for the first time in 3 years, then discussed a wide range of civil aviation problems and approved a series of policy resolutions to guide the technical, economic, legal, and administrative work of the Organization until 1968.

The Assembly adopted a resolution originated by the United States on the economic and financial aspects of the implementation of ICAO regional air navigation plans. This resolution reminds the Council that ICAO's 110 member countries should be encouraged to implement these plans by loans for capital expenditures, operating agencies, technical assistance, or other means compatible with the Chicago Convention, before applying to ICAO for joint international financing under the Convention. The Council is also directed to follow and analyze pertinent developments in operational research, systems analysis, and cost/benefit methodology for possible use by countries in planning air navigation facilities and services.

The United States supported a Colombian proposal directing the ICAO Council to study the technical aspects of outer space activities that affect international air navigation. (It was understood that



legal questions raised by space activities would continue to be left to the United Nations.) Since the technical work of ICAO has been directed mainly to international commercial air transport and, since international general aviation has now become a significant proportion of total operations, the Assembly directed the Council to examine the ICAO Standards and Recommended Practices to determine their suitability for all international civil aviation.

As a result of a U.S. initiative, the Assembly also adopted a resolution directing the Council to study on a worldwide or regional basis the development of international air passenger travel. The Council, in carrying out its continuing functions in the economic field, is also to prepare long- and medium-term forecasts of future trends and developments in civil aviation of both a general and specific kind.

The Assembly voted down an amendment to the Chicago Convention proposed by 31 African states which would have provided for the suspension or exclusion from the Organization of any country that practices a policy of *apartheid*. Instead, the Assembly adopted a resolution, introduced by the same group, that condemned the *apartheid* policies of South Africa and urged it to comply with the Convention.

Included among the 27 governments elected to the ICAO Council to serve for the next 3 years were the following new members: Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Kenya, and Sweden.

### Air Navigation Conference

ICAO's Fourth Air Navigation Conference, held in November and December 1965, made a number of recommendations which, when approved by the ICAO Air Navigation Commission and the Council, should increase the safety and reliability of international air transportation. The Conference recommended that the present ICAO standard for the carriage of a portable radio transmitter operating on Medium and High Frequencies (MF/HF) should be replaced by one requiring each long-range flight over water to carry at least two survival radio equipments operating on both 121.5 and 243 megacycles per second in the Very High Frequency (VHF) band. This recommendation was based on the opinion that modern VHF survival equipment would be easier for unskilled persons to operate and that many more aircraft would be able to pick up VHF transmissions than could pick up MF/HF broadcasts.

The meeting agreed on a new requirement for the carriage of lifejackets or equivalent individual flotation devices when taking off or landing at an airport close to a large expanse of water.

Since automatic flight data recorders are a valuable tool in providing

information on the probable cause of an aircraft accident, the Conference recommended that turbine-engine aircraft over 12,500 lbs. be required to carry a recorder, preferably in the aft section of the plane such as the vertical stabilizer or tail cone, to simplify recovery after an accident.

### *Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization* (IMCO)

Among the most important actions of an organizational nature taken in 1965 by the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) was an increase in the size and a change in the composition of the Maritime Safety Committee to give it wider geographical distribution. In the negotiation of these changes, the United States was anxious to insure that those countries that traditionally had taken the most active interest in the promotion of safety of persons and property at sea continued to have adequate representation on the Committee. After lengthy debate in the Fourth Assembly of IMCO, which met at Paris, September 15-29, 1965, it was decided to increase the size of the Committee from 14 to 16 members and to elect the Committee as follows: (a) 8 members will be elected from among the 10 largest shipowning member countries; (b) 4 members will be elected in accordance with geographical distribution; (c) the remaining 4 members will be elected from among states not selected under (a) or (b) above.

One of the significant accomplishments of IMCO during 1965 was the adoption of an international Convention on the Facilitation of Maritime Travel and Transport. An international conference was convened in London and met for 3 weeks in March-April 1965. The U.S. delegation was headed by Robert V. McIntyre, U.S. Deputy Commissioner for Customs, who, together with other U.S. experts, had participated over a period of 2 years in the preparation of a draft convention. The Convention, as approved by the conference and submitted to member states for ratification, will, when implemented, have the effect of drastically reducing the volume of paperwork connected with the arrival, stay, and departure of vessels in the ports of the signatory countries. It is expected that the decisions taken by the conference as embodied in the Convention and its annexes will save ship owners many millions of dollars per year through the elimination of paper work and delay to merchant shipping.

During the course of the year the division of responsibility between IMCO and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, both of which operate in the field of shipping, was negotiated

by the two organizations. There was broad agreement that for the foreseeable future IMCO should confine itself to the technical aspects of shipping while the Trade and Development Board, operating primarily through its Shipping Committee, should deal with the economic aspects of the shipping industry.

Within the field of maritime safety, the basic substantive responsibility of IMCO, considerable progress was made during 1965. For example, three international codes received approval: the International Code of Signals, the Code of Safe Practice for Bulk Cargoes, and the International Maritime Dangerous Goods Code. The Maritime Safety Committee, in addition to its work on the codes referred to above, considered a number of other aspects of safety measures. These included preparations for the international conference on Load Lines scheduled for March 1966, and consideration of numerous specific items, including subdivision and stability problems, protection of ships from fire, radio communication requirements, position reporting systems, and analysis of the causes of marine casualties. The work of IMCO within the field of maritime safety has now become so specialized that during the course of 1965 no less than 12 subcommittees, each directed toward a special aspect of maritime safety, met to consider appropriate measures within their fields of competence. Examples of these subcommittees are those on Subdivision and Stability, Tonnage Measurement, Carriage of Dangerous Goods by Sea, and Oil Pollution.

### *International Telecommunication Union (ITU)*

#### **Plenipotentiary Conference**

The Plenipotentiary Conference of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), which met in Montreux, Switzerland, from September 14 to November 12, 1965, was attended by representatives of 124 members of the ITU. As usual, 6 years had elapsed since the last Plenipotentiary Conference.

The basic document of the ITU is a Convention which must be renegotiated at each Plenipotentiary Conference, and subsequently ratified. The main tasks of the Montreux Conference were, therefore, the drafting of a new Convention to replace that of 1959, and the provision of instructions for the operations of the ITU until the next Plenipotentiary Conference, expected to be held in 1971.

Ambassador Julius C. Holmes was chairman of the U.S. delegation. Rosel H. Hyde, Commissioner of the Federal Communications Commission, and Carl W. Loeber of the Department of State served



as vice chairmen. Congressional members of the delegation were Senator Frank J. Lausche, Senator Hugh Scott, Representative Oren Harris, and Representative William Lee Springer.

The Territories of the United States have a separate membership in the ITU and a separate vote. The Chairman of the U.S. Territories Delegation was the Honorable Francisco Corneiro, Attorney General of the Virgin Islands.

The ITU celebrated its centenary at this Conference.

#### INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

The Montreux Conference took several steps in the direction of improving the structure of the ITU, although it did not go as far as the United States had hoped. Among the decisions taken in this connection were:

(1) To increase the size of the Administrative Council from 25 to 29 members. The 25 member Council was established when the total membership of the Organization was 96. The four new seats reflect an increase in membership to 129 members, and provides an equitable representation for the new and developing countries.

(2) To reduce the size of the International Frequency Registration Board (IFRB) from 11 members to 5.

(3) To simplify arrangements for subsidiary conferences. In the future the ITU will hold only World Administrative Conferences, instead of the five types previously permitted.

The United States and a number of other countries have felt for some time that the entire ITU Convention should not be renegotiated every 6 years. The United States accordingly proposed that the Convention be replaced by an instrument of a more permanent nature, with provisions of the present Convention that are subject to frequent changes moved to a set of General Regulations. The Conference was not prepared to take final action on this proposal, but adopted a resolution establishing a study group of not more than 10 experts to prepare a draft Constitutional Charter and General Regulations for consideration at the next Plenipotentiary Conference.

#### POLITICAL ISSUES

Considerable time at the Conference was devoted to political questions, including the Chinese representation issue (see page 128).

The first political issue arose in the form of a draft resolution to exclude the representatives of South Africa from the Conference because of its racial policies. In the ensuing debate many countries, including the United States, stated that under the ITU Convention

all members are entitled to participate in conferences of the Union. They considered that the Conference was therefore not competent to consider the proposed resolution. The question of competence was put to the vote and resulted in a tie, 53 for, 53 against, and 3 abstentions. It became clear that there was no agreement on the meaning of this vote; one group claimed that it meant the Conference was competent, another claimed it meant that the Conference was not competent. Accordingly a new vote on competence was taken and the Conference declared itself competent by a vote of 58 to 51, with 2 abstentions. The draft resolution was then put to the vote and South Africa was excluded from the Conference by a vote of 59 to 27, with 7 abstentions, and 15 (U.S.) not participating.

Toward the end of the Conference a further resolution was adopted which excludes South Africa from participating in African Regional Conferences of the ITU. The vote was 62 to 28, with 13 abstentions.

A resolution condemning the colonial policies of Portugal was adopted by a vote of 61 to 35, with 14 abstentions.

Communist countries proposed a number of amendments to the Convention designed to eliminate the requirement that two-thirds of the members of the ITU must approve any application for membership submitted by a country that is not a member of the United Nations. All these proposals were defeated, as were other proposals designed to permit such countries to take an active part in the work of the ITU.

#### TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

A major item of discussion throughout the Conference was the question of technical assistance. The functioning of the ITU technical cooperation program was examined in detail and a large number of countries believed that the program should be strengthened and expanded. Among the many proposals on this subject, the most far-reaching were:

- (1) the establishment of an ITU Technical Cooperation Fund, separate from funds available through the United Nations;
- (2) the establishment within ITU headquarters of an independent technical cooperation body with an elected director;
- (3) the establishment of regional offices of the ITU in less developed areas.

The United States shared the views of many countries that these proposals were impractical. Their utility had not been demonstrated, and it would be unwise to commit large sums to untried experiments.

Moreover, any contributions to a separate technical assistance fund for telecommunications would reduce the sums available for other purposes, and thus in effect limit the choice of governments seeking technical assistance. The proposals were not adopted. However, the Secretary General was asked to study the question of regional offices and report to the Administrative Council which, in turn, will make recommendations to the next Plenipotentiary Conference.

The United States, together with Morocco, the U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom, submitted a resolution on practical measures to strengthen existing arrangements for technical cooperation in the ITU. It was adopted without objection. The United States also supported a further resolution calling for an increase in the technical staff of ITU Headquarters to deal with inquiries from the developing countries on technical problems in the field of telecommunications.

#### ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

The Conference elected Dr. Monohar B. Sarwate of India as the new Secretary General, replacing Gerald C. Gross of the United States who retired on December 31, 1965. Dr. Sarwate had served with distinction as Deputy Secretary General to Mr. Gross. Dr. Mohamed Mili of Tunisia was elected Deputy Secretary General. Dr. Mili had been Chairman of the Administrative Council in 1964.

The United States was reelected to membership in the Administrative Council. The other 28 members of the Council are: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Dahomey, Ethiopia, France, Germany, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Malagasy Republic, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Switzerland, Uganda, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

The Plenipotentiary Conference also approved limits on expenditures for the period 1966-71 inclusive, totaling 138,060,000 Swiss francs (approximately \$33 million). The annual budgets of the organization will be approved by the Administrative Council within the limits established for each year. Of the total amount 114,175,000 Swiss francs (about 83 percent) is for recurrent headquarters expenses, and the remainder is for the cost of holding international meetings and conferences.

The Conference also retained the existing unit system of apportioning costs among the members under which the U.S. share is expected to be approximately 10 percent as in the preceding 6-year period. The 10 percent share covers the dues for both the United States and its Territories.

The Administrative Council was authorized to purchase the building



that the ITU currently occupies under a rental agreement with the Swiss Government. The purchase price is particularly advantageous to the organization since it was set in the original agreement in 1962. Real estate values in Geneva have since increased rapidly owing to the shortage of commercial space.

The Montreux International Telecommunication Convention will enter into force on January 1, 1967, as between the parties at that time. Ratification of the Convention by the United States is subject to the advice and consent of the Senate.

### **Administrative Council**

The Administrative Council of the ITU held its 20th session in Geneva from April 12 to May 18, 1965. The Council is responsible for taking all steps to facilitate the implementation of the provisions of the ITU Convention and the international radio telegraph and telephone regulations. It carries out the decisions of the Plenipotentiary Conference and other conferences and meetings of the ITU where appropriate, and is responsible for assuring the efficient coordination of the work of the Union. The Council made final arrangements for the ITU Plenipotentiary Conference, and initiated arrangements for the second session of the Aeronautical Radio Conference in February 1966 and the Plenary Assembly of the International Radio Consultative Committee at Oslo in June-July 1966. It also initiated consideration by ITU member administrations of the need for a world Administrative Radio Conference on maritime matters.

The Council adopted its fourth report on telecommunications and the peaceful uses of outer space indicating further progress in space telecommunications under ITU auspices. The report also summarizes space developments by member administrations. Information provided by the United States permitted the Council to evaluate the need for a future radio conference on problems connected with space radiocommunications. The Council decided that such a conference was not needed in the foreseeable future.

The Council prepared a report, for consideration by the Plenipotentiary Conference, on the activities of the ITU in the 6 years since the preceding Plenipotentiary Conference in 1959.

The Council also prepared its usual annual report on the ITU as a specialized agency of the United Nations for consideration by the U.N. Economic and Social Council.

### **International Frequency Registration Board (IFRB)**

The IFRB proceeded with its assigned duties of orderly registration of frequencies in accordance with the Allocation Table in the Radio

Regulations (1959) and with the decisions of the 1963 Space Radiocommunication Conference which allocated frequency bands for space uses. The Board gave preliminary consideration to procedures for the registration of space radiocommunication frequency assignments. It reviewed the telecommunication standards recommended by the 1963 conference and assembled technical information for use by the second session of the Aeronautical Conference. It also compiled information required to prepare a Handbook on Recommended Techniques for Use of the High Frequency Spectrum.

#### **International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR)**

Twelve of the 14 CCIR study groups held meetings during 1965 in preparation for the 11th CCIR Plenary Assembly in Oslo in 1966. The United States contributed heavily to the preparatory work for all of these study groups and participated in them. Recommendations and reports were developed by the study groups, for final action by the Assembly, on a wide range of subjects important to U.S. interests, such as frequency sharing criteria between communication satellites and microwave radio relay systems in the satellite communication service.

The question of color television standards was considered by CCIR Study Group XI at Vienna and the subject is to be dealt with again at the Oslo 1966 Assembly. Various CCIR study groups were concerned with the development of recommendations for the use of the single sideband, particularly in the maritime services. The decisions to be reached at Oslo in 1966 on this subject will be of important concern to the world conference on maritime telecommunications matters to be held in 1967.

#### **International Telephone and Telegraph Consultative Committee (CCITT)**

Special Study Group A on Data Transmission met in Brussels November 22–December 3, 1965. The exchange of data between computers in different countries without manual handling of the traffic concerned represents a quite recent communications development for which international standards and operational characteristics have not yet been established. The volume of communications in this area is expected to be unlimited in the future, and developments are presently at a stage where standardization on a worldwide basis is still possible. The United States provides the acting chairman of this international study group.

In addition, elements of the U.S. communications operating industry have taken part in working parties of six other study groups

as well as the CCITT autonomous working party on economic conditions in telecommunications development.

### Plan Committee for Latin America

The United States was represented by an official delegation at the Third Meeting of the Plan Committee for Latin America held in Santiago, Chile, March 29–April 9, 1965. Besides contributing to the substantial progress on regional network planning, the delegation, through presentation of lectures and other materials, directed the interest of the Committee for the first time toward the possibilities of satellite communications in the region.

### *Universal Postal Union (UPU)*

In 1965 the United States continued its close cooperation with other members of the Executive Council of the Universal Postal Union (UPU) in carrying out the responsibilities of that Council. In addition to acting as supervisory authority over the activities of the Union, the 27-member Executive Council is charged with implementing the directives and carrying out the tasks assigned to it by the 15th Universal Postal Congress held in 1964. At its annual meeting in Bern, Switzerland, the Council established procedures for the expansion of the UN/UPU Technical Assistance Program for the benefit of Postal Administrations. In addition, under the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, UPU Programs of Direct Technical Assistance, and grants established by the U.S. Agency for International Development, officials and students from other postal administrations have pursued courses of study and training in the United States. This country has cooperated fully in these programs by making all the facilities of its postal service available to these students.

The United States also played an active part in the work of the Management Council of the UPU's Consultative Committee on Postal Studies. Throughout the year the United States cooperated with the Committee by supplying the latter with valuable information on technical, operational, and economic problems pertaining to the postal service. The Consultative Committee was established for the purpose of studying these problems and advising UPU members. The Management Council is made up of 26 members chosen on a geographical basis. In carrying out their functions, the Executive Council and the Management Council of the Consultative Committee make



an important contribution to the continuing efforts of the UPU to improve and facilitate postal communication throughout the world. In these activities, the United States continues to play an effective role.

### *World Meteorological Organization (WMO)*

The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) facilitates international cooperation in the field of meteorology and hydrometeorology through networks of observation stations, meteorological centers, international exchange systems, research, and training. The World Meteorological Congress establishes regulations relating to meteorological practice and fixes the policy, program, and budget of the organization.

### **World Weather Watch**

Particular emphasis has been placed on the responsibilities of the WMO resulting from the 16th and 17th U.N. General Assembly resolutions in the field of outer space. The first report of the WMO in 1962 on the Advancement of Atmospheric Sciences and their Application in the Light of Developments in Outer Space outlined the elements of the World Weather Watch envisaged as a cooperative global meteorological observing and prediction system.

The fourth report of the WMO in 1965 on outer space set forth in detail the developments underway to lay the groundwork for the establishment of a World Weather Watch under the aegis of the WMO. Consideration was given to the establishment of World Weather Centers, the possible utilization of regional centers, the extensive use of weather information from satellites, and the need for much more efficient global observational and telecommunication systems. Related to these developments were studies of the most efficient organization of facilities for communications, analysis, and warnings based on national systems already in existence, and the training of meteorologists to use weather information from satellites. Careful attention was given to the establishment of a worldwide network of conventional reporting stations to supplement information from weather satellites.

Following his address in 1964 at commencement exercises at the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass., when he observed that "we will move ahead with plans to devise a world-wide weather system," President Johnson asked Secretary of Commerce Luther H.

Hodges to bring the Federal departments and agencies in this field into closer consultation and coordination, and to formulate U.S. international meteorological policies and programs. Accordingly, a committee was established, composed of representatives of the Department of State, the Department of Commerce, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Federal Aviation Agency, and the National Science Foundation. By the end of 1965 it had nearly completed its detailed proposals on policies and programs in this field.

On October 5, 1965, Ambassador James M. Nabrit, Jr., observed in the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space:

The meteorological satellite program has developed into an outstanding example of the benefits that come to all—in developing as well as in highly developed countries—as space capabilities improve . . . .

In the last year, the United States has launched two new experimental weather satellites, TIROS IX and X. TIROS IX's unique configuration has made cloud patterns of the entire earth available on a daily basis for the first time, and TIROS X has gone into an orbit permitting daily tracking of hurricanes and typhoons. Together with TIROS VII and VIII, which continue to perform satisfactorily, these new satellites have allowed us to furnish information on weather conditions to nations in all latitudes around the world. Last December, for example, TIROS photographs made possible forty-eight hour advance warning of a dangerous tropical cyclone that struck India and Ceylon.

The success of these experimental satellites has made it possible to move on to the next stage—the TIROS Operational Satellite System. Spacecraft launched as part of this system in 1966 will carry Automatic Picture Transmission System (APT) cameras, which will enable users anywhere to receive pictures of local weather conditions directly from the satellites through simple and inexpensive ground equipment. Such equipment has already been set up and used in eleven countries with beneficial results . . . .

The WMO Fourth Congress in 1963 had stated that two of the World Weather Centers of the proposed World Weather Watch should be located in Moscow and Washington. A third Center will be located in Melbourne, Australia, for the Southern Hemisphere. The World Weather Center in Washington opened on January 1, 1965. It consists of the U.S. Weather Bureau's National Meteorological Center, the National Weather Satellite Center, and other Weather Bureau components. The Director of this Center is Dr. George P. Cressman, who is also Director of the U.S. Weather Bureau.

To give adequate focus to both the operational and research aspects of the proposed World Weather Watch, the WMO Fourth Congress established an Advisory Committee of 12 highly qualified scientists and experts selected by the WMO in consultation with the International Council of Scientific Unions. The United States is represented on the Committee by Dr. Cressman and Dr. Walter O. Roberts,

Director of the National Center for Atmospheric Research, Boulder, Colo.

At its second session in February 1965, the Committee made recommendations on high priority research problems in atmospheric sciences to which particular attention should be given by the WMO. A feature of this session was a joint meeting with the Committee on Atmospheric Sciences of the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics to discuss scientific problems of mutual concern to both governmental and non-governmental scientists.

### Executive Committee

At its 17th session in Geneva, May 27-June 11, 1965, the WMO Executive Committee, of which Dr. Robert M. White, Administrator of the U.S. Environmental Science Services Administration, is a member, reemphasized that it considered that the planning, development, and implementation of the World Weather Watch should be the main task of the WMO, its constituent bodies, and the WMO Secretariat during the coming years. The Committee gave considerable emphasis to the work of the Planning Unit established by the Fourth Congress. This Unit works closely with the WMO Advisory Committee and under the direction of the WMO Secretary General. An American, Henry P. Marx, was Chief of the Planning Unit.

The Executive Committee reviewed experiments and feasibility studies relating to various components of the World Weather Watch, and urged member states to provide expert advice and assistance to the WMO Secretary General in the planning of the World Weather Watch.

The \$1,500,000 authorized for the New Development Fund for the 4-year fiscal period 1964-67 had been allocated by the Executive Committee to three main fields: (1) the improvement of meteorological facilities in different parts of the world, (2) planning studies for the World Weather Watch, and (3) education and training. It was the opinion of the Committee that particular attention should be given to projects of global interest and that the most urgent requirements were for improvements in telecommunication arrangements.

Assistance to telecommunication centers in Brasilia, Singapore, and Nairobi through projects supported from this Fund will improve the flow of information between the Northern and Southern Hemispheres.

Projects approved previously which enable upper air meteorological observations to be made at certain key stations on islands, such as San Cristóbal in the Galápagos Islands off the coast of Ecuador in the



Pacific Ocean, were reviewed. The main gaps in the world network of weather observations are over oceanic areas where no stationary weather ships exist and where meteorological reports from merchant ships are scarce.

### Related Activities

Three technical commissions of the WMO, which generally meet only once during each 4-year fiscal period, held sessions in 1965. The Commission for Aerology held its fourth session in Brussels, July 6-20. It reviewed problems and programs relating to the research activities of the WMO and took steps to improve programs in Numerical Weather Forecasting, Weather Modification, Atmospheric Chemistry, Radiation, and Ozone. Dr. Cressman, chairman of the U.S. delegation to this meeting, presided as President of the Commission.

The Commission for Instruments and Methods of Observations, which held its fourth session in Tokyo, October 4-15, considered the improvement of meteorological instruments and observational techniques. It discussed ordinary equipment such as barometers and thermometers as well as more sophisticated equipment such as radar, atmospheric radioactivity recording devices, atmospheric electricity measurements, and rockets. Christos Harmantas of the U.S. Weather Bureau was chairman of the U.S. delegation.

The Commission for Climatology, meeting in Stockholm in August, took steps to improve the recording, transmission, storage, and summary of the meteorological and hydrological data that is daily recorded throughout the globe. Dr. Helmut E. Landsberg, Director of the Environmental Data Service, Environmental Science Services Administration, was chairman of the U.S. delegation.

Regional Association VI for Europe, which met in Paris in April, reviewed regional aspects of meteorology and hydrology and developed new observational, forecasting and communications arrangements for Europe. Dr. Gordon Cartwright of the U.S. Weather Bureau was the U.S. Observer at this meeting.

Regional Association II for Asia met in Tehran in October. Asian observational networks, forecasting arrangements, communications procedures, and warnings services were revised. The Association was particularly concerned with the incorporation of the concept of the World Weather Watch into regional plans and the rearrangement of communications circuits to bring data into Asia from the Southern Hemisphere. Dr. Cartwright was also the U.S. Observer at this meeting.

The WMO Executive Committee's Panel of Experts for the International Hydrological Decade, 1965-74, met in Geneva in May and drafted a program for active WMO participation in the Decade.

A number of special working groups met in 1965 to consider particular subjects such as worldwide communications, codes, and training. Much of the basic work and sound progress in the organization proceeds from the voluntary work of these groups, most of which is carried on by correspondence and only occasionally augmented by meetings. The United States takes a leading part in these working groups and is represented in 80 of them, or about 75 percent of the total number in the WMO.

### *International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)*

#### **Safeguards**

The ninth regular session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) met in Tokyo, September 21-28, 1965. President Johnson, in a message delivered on his behalf on September 22 by the Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, said:

Since its inception in 1957, the IAEA has made noteworthy progress. In organizing and implementing international programs of scientific and technological cooperation, it has shown the world that men gain far more by sharing their knowledge and tools than by using them alone in secrecy and isolation. The IAEA has offered the advanced countries and their lesser developed neighbors and friends opportunities to work together and to share the scientific developments of many nations.

But the IAEA also has the solemn duty—and the unique opportunity—to assure the world that materials and equipment employed for peaceful uses of atomic energy are not used for any military purpose. Prevention of the spread of atomic weapons is one of the most important tasks of our times. It is my deep conviction that the IAEA, through its safeguards system, can make a crucial contribution to achievement of this goal. The United States Government is pledged to do all in its power to assure the success of the Agency's system. I urge every Member State to give its support to the Agency system in principle and in practice.

Less than a week after the delivery of the President's message, on September 27, the IAEA General Conference recorded its unanimous endorsement of "The Agency's Safeguards System (1965)," a statement of principles and procedures based on revision, clarification, and consolidation of those principles and procedures embodied in the safeguards system initially adopted by the IAEA in 1961 and the extension of that system in 1964. On the following day, Septem-

ber 28, the IAEA Board of Governors at a special meeting put the new safeguards system formally into effect.

This action by the General Conference and the Board of Governors completed work that had been in progress for many months. In February 1964 the Board of Governors had taken decisions basic to the revision of the existing safeguards system. Pursuant to those decisions, a Working Group, in which all members of the Board were entitled to participate, had held meetings in February, May, and October 1964 and January 1965 to review and revise the safeguards system. In February 1965 the Board of Governors gave provisional approval to the revised system which, as noted above, was put formally into force in September. U.S. representatives had participated in all phases of this work.

The progress made in applying IAEA safeguards, together with the U.S. contribution to that progress, was summed up by Dr. Seaborg in remarks he made following his delivery of the President's message to the IAEA General Conference:

My Government is proud of its program for transferring responsibility for administering safeguards to the IAEA. The first such transfer was accomplished by means of a trilateral agreement signed by the United States, Japan, and the IAEA on September 23, 1963. Thus far, arrangements of this kind have been made for the IAEA to administer the safeguards on nuclear materials and equipment supplied by the United States to 13 countries: Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, Viet-Nam, the Republic of China, Norway, Greece, Austria, Portugal, Iran, Argentina, Israel, and South Africa. The United Kingdom and Canada have concluded similar agreements with the Agency and countries with which they have safeguards agreements, including Japan. We are making every effort to complete additional agreements for the transfer of bilateral safeguards responsibilities to the Agency, and it is our hope that other members will follow the same policy. In addition, of course, Agency safeguards are or will be applied to Agency projects in Finland, Norway, the Republic of the Congo, Mexico, and Yugoslavia.

. . . Our experience of several years has shown that the Agency's safeguards system in no way interferes with the efficient operation of nuclear installations.

We are extremely pleased and encouraged by the offer of the United Kingdom to place its Bradwell nuclear power station under Agency safeguards. I believe it is a major step in support of the Agency's safeguards system. It will further demonstrate the Agency's system in application to another important type of power reactor and thereby contribute to the objective of having widely accepted international safeguards with uniform standards and methods of inspection.

### Peaceful Uses

Dr. Seaborg, like the representatives of a number of other countries at the IAEA General Conference, commended the IAEA on the continued emphasis it had given in 1965 to activities relating to the



use of nuclear energy for the production of electric power and the desalting of water. The IAEA assisted a number of member countries in the preliminary assessment of nuclear power and desalting prospects, in the evaluation of reactor systems, and in the siting, construction, and safe operation of nuclear plants. Through special meetings and training courses, it fostered the development of nuclear technology.

The IAEA made particularly noteworthy progress in the field of desalination using nuclear energy. In April 1965, in continuation of a series of meetings held in previous years, the IAEA convened a special panel of experts on desalting. At the meeting of that panel, representatives of 16 countries and the United Nations discussed new desalting techniques, the economic evaluation of desalting in specific areas, and the comparative merits of various types of nuclear reactors. The IAEA participated in a study, undertaken jointly by the United States and Israel, of the feasibility of a desalting plant for Israel; participated in visits that were made to the United Arab Republic and Tunisia to discuss water and power needs and to obtain information about proposed projects; and participated in the First International Symposium on Water Desalting, which was held at Washington from October 3 through 9. It should also be noted that, under the terms of a November 1964 agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union relating to cooperation in the field of desalination using nuclear energy, the IAEA had the benefit of full access to the information covered by the agreement.

### Health and Safety

The growing prospect that nuclear power would be more widely used gave increased significance in 1965 to the work of the IAEA in the fields of health, safety, and waste management. A committee of experts prepared, for consideration by the Board of Governors, a series of draft articles on emergency assistance in the event of radiation accidents for use as a multilateral agreement or as "model terms" for bilateral agreements. Internal procedures were developed to enable the IAEA to respond quickly to requests for assistance from member countries under the provisions of an emergency assistance plan for sending staff members equipped with radiation measuring instruments to the site of a radiation accident.

In September 1965 the Board of Governors approved a revised and improved codification of "Basic Safety Standards for Radiation Protection." This was the product of a panel of experts and representatives from a number of countries and international organizations, which had reevaluated a 1962 codification of basic safety

standards in the light of new information and of recommendations formulated by the International Commission on Radiological Protection.

The IAEA regulations relating to the safe transport of radioactive materials were revised and augmented, and a panel of experts met for the first time to discuss the design and testing of the packaging for large radiation sources. The IAEA issued a code of practice on the management of radioactive wastes produced by radioisotope users.

### Technical Assistance

In 1965 the research, training, and technical assistance programs of the IAEA were concentrated on helping member countries prepare to take full advantage of the potential benefits of nuclear technology. Symposia and panels were sponsored to cover specific uses of radioisotopes and radiation sources in industry, agriculture, biology, hydrology, chemistry, and physics. The IAEA laboratory at Seibersdorf (near Vienna, Austria) carried on research in the use of radioisotopes in malnutrition and the study of protein metabolism, distributed over 1000 calibrated isotopes so that compatible basic standards might be maintained in the work of hospitals and research institutions in over 50 member countries, and trained students in laboratory techniques and in basic research. The IAEA laboratory at Monaco continued experimental work on the fundamental processes of dispersion and release of radioactive materials into the sea. The IAEA-sponsored International Center for Theoretical Physics at Trieste trained students from developing countries and, as part of its research program, began a major project in September 1965 in the field of plasma physics and fusion. Scientists from the United States, the Soviet Union, and several Western European countries are participating. Approval was given to the provision of various items of equipment for use in technical assistance projects, including equipment made available under U.S. grants for projects in Brazil, Chile, the Republic of China, Colombia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and Uruguay. In addition, as of the end of July 1965, the IAEA had assigned 46 technical assistance experts to work on specific field projects; had selected 220 candidates, from a total of 512 nominees, for specialized training in member states; and had awarded 59 new contracts, while renewing 75 others, for the carrying on of research in the field of atomic energy by scientific institutions in member states.

Dr. Seaborg, in addressing the IAEA General Conference, commended the IAEA on its research, training, and technical assistance programs, and pledged continuing U.S. support. He announced that for the seventh consecutive year the United States was pleased to renew, for 1966, its offer to donate up to \$50,000 worth of special nuclear material for use in IAEA projects in research and medical therapy. He said that the United States would continue to make available on a cost-free basis the services of experts, training opportunities in U.S. institutions, and certain items of equipment. He further announced that the United States would continue to contribute to the IAEA library copies of all scientific and technical reports published by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission on peaceful uses of atomic energy, as well as prints of U.S. films on this subject.

### Organizational Matters

The major development of 1965 in respect to the administration of the IAEA was the appointment of Dr. Sigvard Eklund of Sweden as Director General for a second 4-year term, beginning December 1, 1965. In June 1965 the IAEA Board of Governors unanimously endorsed the reappointment of Dr. Eklund, and this action was in turn unanimously approved by the IAEA General Conference in September 1965.

At the IAEA General Conference, the regular or administrative budget of the organization for 1966 (financed by contributions levied on member states) was fixed at \$8,744,000, an increase of over 10 percent above the 1965 figure. The operational budget for 1966 (financed from contributions and other sources) was fixed at \$2,478,000, of which amount \$2 million was the target for voluntary contributions from member states. The U.S. scale of assessment for the regular or administrative budget was fixed at 31.91 percent, a slight increase over its 1965 scale of 31.84 percent. In respect to the operational budget, it was announced that the United States would contribute, subject to the availability of funds, an amount equivalent to that portion of the \$2 million target corresponding to its assessment under the regular budget, up to 40 percent of the total unrestricted cash contributions.

Elections were held by the General Conference to select successors to those seven members (Afghanistan, Republic of China, Congo (Léopoldville), Morocco, Romania, Switzerland, Uruguay) of the Board of Governors whose 2-year terms of office were expiring. The states elected were Austria, Colombia, Ghana, Korea, Pakistan,



Tunisia, and Yugoslavia. The newly constituted Board held its first meeting on September 28, 1965. Its total membership consisted of the representatives of the following 25 countries: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, France, Ghana, India, Japan, Korea, Netherlands, Pakistan, Portugal, South Africa, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia.

## *Trusteeship and Dependent Areas*

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During 1965 U.N. activities with respect to dependent areas were centered in two organizations, the Trusteeship Council and the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (referred to as the Special Committee or the Committee of 24). The 19th General Assembly, because of the constitutional and financial crisis, had not been able to discuss dependent areas questions and the 20th General Assembly therefore considered the reports of the Council and the Special Committee for 1964 as well as 1965.

At the beginning of 1965 Ambassador Marietta Tree was the U.S. Representative on the Trusteeship Council and on the Committee of 24. In September she was succeeded by Ambassador Eugenie Anderson. Dwight Dickinson served as alternate U.S. Representative on both the Council and the Committee during the entire year.

### TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

The Trusteeship Council was constituted in 1947 and at one time was responsible for 11 territories. Eight have since become independent or have integrated into independent states and today the Council considers but three territories: the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (administered by the United States), New Guinea (administered by Australia), and Nauru (administered by Australia for itself, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom). Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States are administering members of the Council. China, France, Liberia, and the U.S.S.R. are nonadministering members.

Prior to the regular session, the Council, at a special session in March, approved the membership of a Visiting Mission to Nauru and New Guinea. The Mission was chaired by Andre Naudy of France.

Dwight Dickinson of the United States and Representatives of Liberia and the United Kingdom served on the Mission. The 32d regular session of the Trusteeship Council met from May 28 to June 30, 1965, and on its opening day elected Mr. Naudy president of the session.

In accordance with the Charter, the Council submitted its report on the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to the Security Council and its report on New Guinea and Nauru to the General Assembly. The General Assembly, after considering the Council's report, adopted on December 21 separate resolutions on New Guinea and Nauru (see pages 273 and 275). The Security Council, following its usual practice, did not discuss the report on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

In accordance with relevant General Assembly resolutions, the President of the Trusteeship Council informed the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Committee of 24) of the work of the Council at its 32d session and expressed his willingness to discuss any further assistance that the Council might provide the Committee.

The Trusteeship Council at its 32d session also considered the annual report of the Secretary-General on the U.N. program of scholarships for inhabitants of Trust Territories (see page 323), and noted the report of the Secretary-General on the dissemination of information on the United Nations in the Trust Territories. In discussion of this report the Representatives of the United States and Australia stated that their governments continued to disseminate widely information about the aims and activities of the United Nations and the Trusteeship System in their respective territories.

### *Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is composed of over 2,100 islands and atolls (96 of which are inhabited), having a combined land area of approximately 687 square miles scattered over an ocean area of some 3 million square miles. The islands are located in the Western Pacific Ocean north of the Equator and are divided into three large groups: the Marianas (with the exception of Guam) in the north, the Carolines in the central and southern sectors, and the Marshalls in the east. The Territory has a population of more than 90,000. Prior to World War II, Japan administered the islands under a League of Nations mandate. The U.S. Government and the Security Council concluded an agreement making the islands a strategic trust on



July 18, 1947. The sole strategic trust territory, it has been administered by the U.S. Department of the Interior since July 1, 1951.

### **Trusteeship Council Consideration**

The Trusteeship Council considered the Pacific Islands between May 28 and June 28, 1965. For this discussion, the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, M. Wilfred Goding, served as Special U.S. Representative, and Bailey Olter, Assistant District Administrator for Public Affairs (Ponape) and member of the House of Delegates of the Congress of Micronesia, was an adviser to the U.S. delegation.

### **Report of the Administering Authority**

An item of major interest to the Council was the recent political advance in the Islands. In his introductory remarks Mr. Dickinson, speaking for the United States, cited the establishment of the Congress of Micronesia as the Territory's most important development. Established by a Secretarial order of the Secretary of the Interior on September 28, 1964, with the election of members on January 19, 1965, the two-house body was scheduled to meet on July 12, 1965, as the first territorywide legislature. In another area, the U.S. Representative stated that the United States had taken steps to add compassionate compensation to the extensive provisions already made for those Rongelapese who had been victims of accidental fallout from nuclear testing. Finally, he emphasized that the United States was only too well aware that the developmental task still remaining was enormous.

High Commissioner Goding reviewed in detail major political, social, educational, and economic developments in the Territory, noting particularly the provisions under which the Congress of Micronesia would operate and the atmosphere in which elections had been conducted.

In discussion of future political development in the Trust Territory, Mr. Olter, adviser to the U.S. delegation, noted:

. . . Three weeks ago I toured my district with my fellow congressmen from Ponape district. At every place we visited, we concluded our meetings by asking the people their future political preference. Given several alternatives, the people invariably insisted that they wished to remain under the present system until they were ready in terms of educational standard, economic stability, political sophistication and social maturity and responsibility. The Micronesians are cautious and are reluctant to gamble for the price of uncertainty. When we are ready to accept responsibilities and are aware of the implications and consequences of committing ourselves to whatever political status we prefer, we will ask for it. In the words of the Micronesian who appeared before this Council last year, "It is like the papaya fruit—when it is ripe, it will show on the surface."

### Trusteeship Council Report

In its report to the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council recalled that the question of compensation for damage suffered by Micronesians during World War II had been the subject of recommendations by the Trusteeship Council since 1950. The Council noted the assurance of the U.S. Representative that high priority was being given to a satisfactory solution of this longstanding and perplexing problem. It reaffirmed the suggestion of the 1964 Visiting Mission that the United States might enlist the help of the United Nations and recommended that the United States consider employing the good offices of the Secretary-General in an approach to the Government of Japan for a prompt and definite settlement of the claims. It expressed the hope that the Administering Authority would be in a position to report to the next session of the Council that a satisfactory settlement of the claims had been definitely concluded.

With reference to claims for compensation of victims of nuclear fallout on the Marshall Islands, the Council noted that conditions had greatly improved and expressed the hope that the compassionate compensation granted by the United States to the Rongelapese in 1964 would remove the sense of grievance which the people had expressed.

#### POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT

In the area of political development, the Council expressed its satisfaction with the establishment of the Congress of Micronesia but hoped that the Congress would have greater budgetary control over funds and that the Administering Authority would define and limit the instances in which the High Commissioner's veto power over legislation would be used. The Council noted that at the present stage of the Territory's growth, swift political advancement was desirable both for its own sake and as a prerequisite to economic and social development. The establishment of a national legislature was the greatest single step forward in the political development of Micronesia. It was now a matter of urgency to define the relationship between the territory-wide legislature and the district legislatures. Stating that the accelerated pace of advancement in the legislative field should now be carried into the executive, the Council called for an intensification of the program for training Micronesian personnel at all levels, as well as efforts to expand Micronesian control over and participation in the executive. It suggested the creation of a unified civil service and a Civil Service Commission as a means of contributing to these objectives.

### ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT

At the present time the economic structure of the Trust Territory is primarily based on subsistence agriculture and fishing. U.S. policy is to develop the islands' economy and, toward that end, the United States has engaged a private firm to undertake a 2-year economic development program. The Council noted this important step and welcomed the assurance that the Micronesians would be fully associated with the planning process at every stage. It recommended that the national and local legislatures, and perhaps separate development boards, should be closely associated with the preparation and implementation of development plans.

The Council was gratified that since 1963 the resources available for administration of the Territory had increased by more than 100 percent to more than \$18 million in 1965. At the same time, in order to promote eventual self-sufficiency, the Council hoped that the Congress of Micronesia would consider measures for increasing internal revenue. It stated that the existence of comparatively meager economic resources required that a significant portion of the earnings of commercial operations should be retained in the Territory and that the Micronesian people should have the opportunity to participate, through investment, in ownership of such operations. The Council hoped that the Administering Authority, with the Congress of Micronesia, could devise measures, including loans, to facilitate such participation.

The Council also noted with appreciation the vigorous efforts taken in developing essential transportation and communications (including a radio station and an airport in each district). However, still more needed to be done to link up villages, to provide access to power and water supplies and to export centers, and to open up the hinterlands for agricultural development. The Council noted that considerable progress had been made in settling land claims and hoped that all outstanding claims would be settled quickly.

### SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT

The Council welcomed the progress made in public health and encouraged the Administering Authority to build further health units throughout the Territory to bring medical care within closer reach of the people. It recommended improved medical training for Micronesians in preparation for their assuming leadership in administrative and supervisory functions in medical and health matters.

A major accelerated program of educational development has been underway since 1963 to provide a universal free public school system through high school, with advanced training in the trades and professions for those who can profit by it. The Council commended the



Administering Authority for the progress made in this program. It recommended that consideration be given to the establishment of a junior college as a further means of promoting Micronesian unity, as well as preparing Micronesians to take up senior positions in the islands.

#### TIMETABLE FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT OR INDEPENDENCE

The Council referred to the conclusion of the 1964 Visiting Mission that no fully matured opinions on the Territory's political future had developed among the people, and to U.S. statements that the people of Micronesia would have the opportunity to exercise a free, informed, and meaningful choice of the type of government they wished and the nature of their future political associations. The Council reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of the Territory to self-determination (including the right to independence) and suggested that the Congress of Micronesia should direct its attention to the future status of the Territory. It urged the Administering Authority to keep the people aware of all political options. The Council further urged the Administering Authority, in consultation with the Congress of Micronesia and in light of the U.N. Charter, the Trusteeship Agreement, and two resolutions of the 15th General Assembly, to draw up realistic plans and programs reflecting a proper sense of urgency for the rapid and planned advance of the Territory in all aspects of its political life.

#### PETITIONS

At its 32d session, the Trusteeship Council also examined several petitions concerning the Trust Territory. One petition, filed by some members of the Trust Territory medical staff, stated that the administration had not fulfilled its obligation to protect the health of the inhabitants and urged an expert investigation. The U.S. Representative, noting that there had been a considerable improvement in health conditions in the Territory in the past few years, said that the United States was fully aware of the need for continued progress and would welcome an impartial investigation of the allegations made in the petition. The Council decided without objection to invite the World Health Organization (WHO) to undertake the investigation.

#### *Trust Territory of New Guinea*

The Trust Territory of New Guinea comprises the northeastern part of the island of New Guinea, north of the Papuan and east of the West Irian borders and the arc of islands stretching from the Ad-

miralties to the northern Solomons (Buka and Bougainville). The total land area covers some 92,160 square miles.

In June 1964 the indigenous population was estimated to exceed 1,500,000. According to the report of the 1965 U.N. Visiting Mission to Nauru and New Guinea, it is estimated that there are now more than 16,500 nonindigenous inhabitants, mostly Australians and Chinese.

Australia administers the Trust Territory and the neighboring Australian non-self-governing territory of Papua as a union. The area continues to present formidable problems of administration. More than 700 dialects are spoken by some of the world's most primitive people.

### Trusteeship Council Report

The 1965 U.N. Visiting Mission visited New Guinea from March 12 to April 24. In preparing its report to the General Assembly the Trusteeship Council considered both the Visiting Mission's report and the report of the Administering Authority.

#### POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT

At the 32d session, the Representative of the Administering Authority informed the Council that the first election to the New Guinea and Papua House of Assembly had taken place in 1964. The establishment of a representative parliament had been one of the principal recommendations of the 1962 Visiting Mission. The Assembly consisted of 64 members, 54 elected and 10 appointed as official members. Ten of the elective seats were reserved for nonindigenous inhabitants. The Assembly had all the usual legislative prerogatives with the exception that it could not increase the expenditure or introduce money bills that would raise or lower the revenue without first receiving a message from the Administrator. The Administrator was assisted by an Administrator's Council which consisted of himself, three official members and seven elected members of the House of Assembly.

In its report the Council commended the Administering Authority and the people of New Guinea for their joint achievements in creating representative institutions and welcomed the establishment of a Select Committee to take evidence on the need for the development of the principles underlying a constitution for Papua and New Guinea. At the same time the Council urged the Administering Authority "to remain ahead of the indigenous people's desire for material and political progress, to afford to the indigenous population an increasing share in the functions of administration" and urged the New Guinean representatives of the people "to take every opportunity to prepare their people for their future responsibilities."

The Council considered that the next step in constitutional development was to bridge the gap between a fully representative parliament and fully responsible government and suggested that the Select Committee undertake this as one of its principal tasks. In the area of local government the Council called for the extension of local government councils throughout the Territory as soon as possible.

#### ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT

The Council noted with satisfaction that the Australian Government in accordance with the recommendation of the 1962 Visiting Mission had arranged for the World Bank to carry out a comprehensive economic survey and had accepted the main lines of the Bank's recommendations. Noting that the Bank's recommendations frequently coincided with the wishes of the inhabitants, the Council suggested that the Administering Authority should draw up a complete and balanced plan for economic development in New Guinea which would provide direct and full participation by the indigenous people. The Council noted the need for increased investment of foreign capital in the Territory's economy but recommended that the House of Assembly should have the right to exercise effective control over the activities of foreign companies. It considered that everything possible should be done to insure that the proper proportion of profits made by foreign capital be reinvested in the Territory. In promoting economic development, the Council recommended, as a matter of urgency, concentration on the construction of more and better roads suitable for all types of vehicles throughout the year.

Along with agricultural development, the Council observed that land reform was essential to the full development of the Territory's economic potential.

#### SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT

In social and educational areas the Council recognized that territorial legislation already forbade racial discrimination and called upon the Administering Authority to take immediate steps to eliminate any discriminatory practices which might exist in the Territory.

The Council commended the Administering Authority for the significant progress made in the field of public health and expressed the hope that further opportunities would be given indigenous persons to study medicine at the university level to enable them to become fully qualified doctors.

Noting with satisfaction the educational efforts of the Administering Authority, the Council recommended that the Administering Authority continue these efforts and provide further facilities for vocational, secondary, and higher education. It suggested that UNESCO be asked to provide teachers.



## TIMETABLE FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT OR INDEPENDENCE

The Council concluded its examination by recommending that the Administering Authority reiterate to the people its intention that New Guinea and Papua would eventually achieve self-government or independence as an entity. It suggested the adoption of a flag and a national anthem for the Territory as a whole.

The Council noted that the 1965 Visiting Mission had reported that a majority of the indigenous people to whom it had spoken had said that the Territory was not ready for self-government or independence. The Council, nevertheless, urged the Administering Authority, with a proper sense of urgency and in consultation with the representatives of the people, to continue to implement the developmental obligations contained in the Charter, the Trusteeship Agreement, and the Colonialism Declaration, bearing in mind the principles enunciated in the General Assembly's resolution of December 15, 1960, regarding the cessation of reporting requirements on trust and non-self-governing territories.

## Action at the 20th General Assembly

After considering the report of the Trusteeship Council and the November 1964 report of the Committee of 24 on the Trust Territory of New Guinea and the Australian non-self-governing Territory of Papua, the Fourth Committee submitted to the General Assembly a draft resolution on New Guinea and Papua which had been approved by a vote of 61 to 0, with 19 (U.S.) abstentions. The draft resolution reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people to freedom and independence; noted that the Administering Authority had not yet taken sufficient steps toward the full implementation of the Trusteeship Agreement and the Colonialism Declaration; called upon the Administering Authority to report to the Trusteeship Council at its 33d session and to the Committee of 24 on the implementation of the present resolution; and requested the Trusteeship Council and the Committee of 24 to report to the General Assembly at its 21st session.

The General Assembly on December 21 approved the resolution by a vote of 86 to 0, with 22 (U.S.) abstentions.

*Trust Territory of Nauru*

The Trust Territory of Nauru is a small island in the Central Pacific Ocean near the Equator. Its population in 1964 was 4,911, of which 2,661 were Nauruans, 835 Chinese, 392 Europeans, and 1,023 from other Pacific Islands. Australia administers the Territory on behalf of itself, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom.

The economy of Nauru depends on rich phosphate deposits found on two-thirds of its total land area of 5,263 acres. However, at the present rate of extraction, the phosphate deposits will be exhausted in less than 30 years. Thus a major question in the Trusteeship Council's consideration of developments relating to Nauru has been the problem of relocating the Nauruan people in an area where their particular skills will enable them to continue to enjoy their present high standard of living.

### **Trusteeship Council Consideration**

The 1965 Visiting Mission was in Nauru from April 12 to 15. Its report and the report of the Administering Authority were considered by the Trusteeship Council at the 32d session.

### **Report of the Administering Authority**

The Australian delegation reported to the Council that as a result of conversations in June 1965 between the Administering Authority and the Nauru Local Government Council, a Legislative Council and an Executive Council were to be established in Nauru on January 31, 1966. The talks also identified areas of disagreement and made specific provision for further discussions on political progress, phosphate rights, and the operation of the phosphate industry. The Nauruans proposed January 31, 1968, as a target date for independence, having rejected earlier an Australian proposal for resettlement on Curtis Island (off the coast of Australia) with Australian citizenship.

### **Trusteeship Council Report**

In its report the Trusteeship Council considered that the question of the future of the Nauruan people was closely bound up with the search for an alternative homeland and that the idea of resettlement should not be abandoned. It endorsed the proposal, agreed to by the two parties, that they actively pursue any proposals that gave promise of enabling the Nauruan people to resettle on a basis acceptable to them and that would preserve their national identity.

The Administering Authority had reported that it did not consider that a target date of January 31, 1968, for independence was appropriate at this time, and had suggested that, after 2 or 3 years' experience of the workings of the Legislative and Executive Councils, further discussions regarding political progress should take place. While taking note of the position of the Administering Authority, the Council urged the Australian Government, in accord with the Nauruans' right to self-government or independence, to accede to the desire of the

Nauruan Representatives for further discussions on independence in 1967.

Recalling the conclusion of the 1965 Visiting Mission that the Nauruan leaders were now fully capable of conducting their own internal affairs, the Council welcomed, and considered as a major step in the political development of Nauru, the decision to establish by January 31, 1966, a Legislative Council and an Executive Council.

In the area of economic development, the Council noted the total dependence of Nauru on phosphates and expressed the hope that differences between the Nauruans and the British Phosphate Commissioners over extraction rights and rates would be resolved.

The Trusteeship Council concluded its examination of Nauru by noting with satisfaction the findings of the 1965 Visiting Mission that standards of living in Nauru were high and social, medical, and educational conditions were excellent.

### General Assembly Action

Having examined the reports of the Trusteeship Council, the 1965 Visiting Mission, and the Committee of 24, the Fourth Committee approved a draft resolution on Nauru by a vote of 61 to 0, with 19 (U.S.) abstentions.

The draft resolution reaffirmed the right of the people of Nauru to self-government and independence; called upon the Administering Authority to take immediate steps to implement the proposal of the representatives of the Nauruan people in establishing a Legislative Council by January 31, 1966; requested the Administering Authority to fix the earliest possible date, not later than January 31, 1968, for independence; requested that immediate steps be taken by the Administering Authority toward restoring the island of Nauru for habitation by the Nauruan people as a sovereign nation; and called upon the Administering Authority to report to the Trusteeship Council at its 33d session on the implementation of the present resolution.

The General Assembly on December 21 approved the resolution by a vote of 84 to 0, with 25 (U.S.) abstentions.

### COMMITTEE OF 24

The General Assembly in 1961 established a 17-member Special Committee to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of implementation of the 1960 Colonialism Declaration. Enlarged to 24 members in 1962, this Committee in 1965 consisted of



the following members: Afghanistan (appointed December 1965), Australia, Bulgaria, Cambodia (resigned September 1965), Chile, Denmark, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

### *Procedural Aspects*

The Committee of 24 met in two sessions in 1965 for a total of 74 plenary meetings, including 35 in Africa. Its Working Group and Subcommittees held 41 meetings. The first session was from April 6 to June 18 and the second session from August 17 to November 10.

At its first meeting the Committee elected Mr. Huot Sambath (Cambodia) Second Vice-Chairman in place of Mr. Voeunsai Sonn (Cambodia). Mr. Sori Coulibaly (Mali) continued as Chairman, Mr. Carlos Maria Velazquez (Uruguay) as First Vice-Chairman and Mr. Natwar Singh (India) as Rapporteur.

During 1965 the Working Group which makes recommendations on the Committee's program held nine meetings and submitted seven reports. The Subcommittee on Petitions, charged with examining written petitions and requests for oral hearings, held 15 meetings and submitted 15 reports to the Committee of 24. Of the three Subcommittees established in 1964 to consider the various dependent territories on a geographic basis, Subcommittee I (Africa and Indian Ocean) held seven meetings and submitted a report on the implications of the activities of foreign economic and other interests in impeding the implementation of the Colonialism Declaration in the territories under Portuguese administration. Subcommittee II (Pacific Ocean) did not meet during 1965 and Subcommittee III (Caribbean) held but one meeting. The Subcommittees on Southern Rhodesia, Aden, and British Guiana all submitted reports to the Committee of 24.

The Committee on May 26, in adopting the 18th Report of its Working Group, decided to include French Somaliland in the list of territories to which the Colonialism Declaration applies.

Later in the year, on October 7, its chairman drew the Committee's attention to a letter from the Cuban Minister of Foreign Affairs requesting the inclusion of the question of Puerto Rico on the Committee's agenda. This letter was circulated as a Committee document. The U.S. Representative, Dwight Dickinson, protested circulation as not within the Committee's competence since the General Assembly in 1953 had decided that Puerto Rico was self-governing. On October 14 Ambassador Eugenie Anderson again protested the circulation of the letter and asked that no reference to that action

appear in the Committee's report to the General Assembly. When the chairman denied his competence to delete reference to the latter in the Committee's report, Ambassador Anderson requested that the following sentence be added:

The Representative of the United States protested circulation of the letter as irrelevant to the work of this Committee since the people of Puerto Rico have freely and effectively exercised self-determination as recognized by the General Assembly in resolution 748 (VIII) of 27 November 1953.

Following discussion the Committee decided to include the following sentence:

The Representative of the United States of America, referring to General Assembly resolution 748 (VIII) of 27 November 1953, protested the circulation of this letter.

The Committee decided, in order to facilitate its work during 1966, to request funds to visit dependent territories in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Ocean areas, as well as to hold further sessions in Africa.

### *African Trip*

The Committee of 24 was authorized by the General Assembly to meet elsewhere than at U. N. Headquarters whenever such meetings would assist in the effective discharge of its functions. In 1965 the Committee accepted invitations from Ethiopia, Tanzania, and Zambia to hold meetings in their respective capitals, Addis Ababa, Dar es Salaam, and Lusaka. Thirty-five meetings were held in these capitals between May 25 and June 18. Uruguay, however, did not take part in the trip. The Committee heard petitioners and considered the situations in the Portuguese territories, South-West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Southern Rhodesia.

At the conclusion of the African trip, the Committee adopted, in addition to individual resolutions on the territories considered, a general resolution concerning the implementation of the 1960 Colonialism Declaration in the case of these territories. The draft resolution was introduced on June 17, the day before the Committee was to terminate its African sessions, and was sponsored by the delegations of Cambodia, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, Tanzania, and Yugoslavia.

The alternate U.S. Representative on the Committee of 24 for the African trip, Ambassador Philip Bonsal, opposed the suggestion that the Committee immediately vote on the draft resolution. He noted that the U.S. delegation had not been given adequate time to study it or to receive instructions from its government on the draft resolu-

tion. For these reasons, he said, the United States was unable to participate in discussion of the draft resolution or in a vote. He explained that the United States had no objection to an attempt at the proper time to consider the overall significance of the Committee's African experience, but believed such evaluation should be deferred until the Committee returned to New York. The delegations of Australia, Chile, Denmark, Italy, the United Kingdom, and Venezuela agreed that the time allowed for consideration of the draft resolution was too short to permit them to receive instructions from their governments and likewise announced that they would not participate in the vote.

The draft resolution was nevertheless adopted on June 18 by a vote of 15 to 0, with 0 abstentions. The resolution stated that the Committee of 24 was profoundly disappointed and disquieted by the persistent refusal of Portugal, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia to comply with relevant U.N. resolutions and was shocked by the atrocities and violations of human rights committed by these governments; noted the seriousness of the threats of military and economic reprisals uttered by the Governments of Portugal, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia against neighboring African states; and noted with concern that, according to petitioners, efforts were being made by the Government of South Africa looking toward the installation of military bases in South-West Africa, toward the production of poisonous gas, and toward the manufacture of atomic weapons.

The resolution recommended that the General Assembly and the Security Council take positive measures as laid down in the U.N. Charter to insure respect for the rights of the African populations in the region and their rights to self-determination and independence and to put an end to the dangerous activities of the Portuguese and South African Governments and the Southern Rhodesian regime; requested all states to publicize the report of the Committee of 24 and to refuse assistance of any kind to Portugal, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia so long as they failed to renounce the policy of colonial domination and the practice of *apartheid*; and drew the attention of the Commission on Human Rights to the evidence submitted by petitioners respecting the violations of human rights in the territories under Portuguese administration, in South-West Africa, and in Southern Rhodesia.

### *Territories Considered in 1965*

In addition to the territories referred to in its June 18 resolution, which will be treated separately, the Committee of 24 considered



the following territories in 1965: Aden, British Guiana, and the Cook Islands.

In its report to the 20th General Assembly the Committee also resubmitted the reports on territories that it had considered in 1964, which the 19th General Assembly had not considered because of the article 19 controversy. These were Fernando Póo, Rio Muni, Spanish Sahara, Ifni, Gibraltar, Fiji, Mauritius, Seychelles, St. Helena, Niue and Tokelau Islands, American Samoa, Guam, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the Trust Territory of Nauru, Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Pitcairn and Solomon Islands, Brunei, Hong Kong, Falkland Islands (Malvinas), Bermuda, Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands, Cayman Islands, U.S. Virgin Islands, British Virgin Islands, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Barbados, and British Honduras.

### Aden

The Committee of 24 considered the question of Aden from April 27 to May 17, 1965. The Committee had before it a report on the situation in Aden submitted by its Subcommittee on Aden.

On May 14, 1965, Cambodia, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia proposed a draft resolution on Aden expressing the Special Committee's deep concern over the "critical and explosive situation" which was "threatening peace and security in the area" and which arose from "the policies pursued by the Administering Power in the Territory." In its key paragraphs, the draft resolution reaffirmed the right of the people of the Territory to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Colonialism Declaration; deplored the "refusal" of the United Kingdom to implement the most recent General Assembly resolution on Aden and the recommendations of the Committee of 24; urged the United Kingdom to abolish the state of emergency, repeal all laws restricting public freedoms, cease all repressive actions against the people of the Territory, release all political detainees, and allow the return of political exiles; called upon the United Kingdom "to convene immediately a conference of representatives of all sectors of public opinion of the Territory, with a view to deciding on the necessary constitutional measures for the holding of immediate general elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage and with full respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms, to be followed by the establishment of representative organs and government for the whole of the Territory and for the granting of immediate independence"; requested the Secretary-General to arrange an

effective United Nations presence before and during the elections; reaffirmed that the maintenance of the military base in Aden was "prejudicial to the peace and security of the region" and that its removal was therefore "desirable"; and drew the attention of the Security Council to the "grave situation" in Aden.

The Committee of 24 adopted the resolution on May 17 by a vote of 19 to 3 (U.S.), with 2 abstentions.

The U.S. Representative explained to the Committee of 24 that the United States did not oppose the objectives of the resolution but only the means proposed for implementing those objectives. The United States, he said, had observed with interest the evolution of the situation in South Arabia and took satisfaction in the progress which had been made toward the goal upon which all sides agreed: independence and progress of the people of the area, on a sound democratic basis with the recognition of human rights. He noted that the United Kingdom had earlier announced the creation of a commission to consider, after consultation with the governments and peoples of South Arabia, the constitutional structure appropriate for a sovereign independent South Arabian state and the necessary interim constitutional measures leading to its introduction. The U.S. Delegate termed the appointment of this commission "a decidedly forward step in the effort to establish a single independent State by 1968." He said it was unfortunate that the resolution just adopted by the Committee had "failed to take account of the general evolution of the situation and the proposal for a commission."

At the 20th General Assembly, the Fourth Committee discussed the Aden question from October 14 to 25, 1965.

A draft resolution on Aden was introduced in the Fourth Committee on November 2, 1965, sponsored by 45 African and Asian states. In its key operative sections the resolution was similar though not identical to the one passed by the Committee of 24. It also appealed to all states "not to recognize any independence which is not based on the wishes of the people of the Territory freely expressed through elections held under universal adult suffrage"; recognized the legitimacy of Adeni efforts to achieve the rights laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Colonialism Declaration; termed the "immediate and complete" removal of the U.K. base "essential"; and appealed to all member states "to render all possible assistance to the people of the Territory in their efforts to attain freedom and independence."

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Eugenie Anderson, stated on November 3, 1965, that her delegation would vote against the draft resolution on Aden. The United States, she explained, considered that it would only be fair to take into account the assurances

of the Administering Power and to recognize that efforts to reach a solution had been made. Mrs. Anderson said that the United States also believed the Committee should think carefully about the effect of its pronouncements on complex issues that would be for the South Arabian people to decide. Nor should the resolution pass over in silence the question of terrorism in South Arabia, Mrs. Anderson stated. She noted that public order and safety in South Arabia had been deteriorating and that there had been a succession of acts of terrorism which had "brought personal tragedy and an inevitable slowdown in the effort to establish the institutions necessary for independence." The United States was concerned, she said, lest some of the paragraphs of the draft resolution might be construed as U.N. endorsement of violence, which would not be consonant with the U.N. Charter. Her delegation was also concerned, she said, by the affirmation in the preambular section of the draft resolution that the situation in Aden threatened peace and security. Mrs. Anderson stated that her delegation did not consider that the situation constituted a threat to international peace and security within the meaning of chapter VII of the Charter.

The Fourth Committee adopted the resolution on November 3 by a vote of 83 to 11 (U.K., U.S.), with 8 abstentions. In plenary, on November 5, the resolution was adopted by a vote of 90 to 11 (U.K., U.S.), with 10 abstentions.

### **Former U.K. High Commission Territories**

The Committee of 24 considered the situation in the former British High Commission Territories (Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland) at seven meetings during its trip to Africa in May and June 1965. After petitioners from the territories testified regarding the relationship of the territories to South Africa, a representative of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa referred to a resolution passed by the OAU Council of Ministers at its third ordinary session in July 1964, and urged that the United Nations prepare an international convention guaranteeing the territorial integrity, independence, and sovereignty of the territories and the right of free passage without molestation or restraint.

The U.K. Representative reviewed the constitutional progress achieved in the territories, noting that each was well on the way to independence, and categorically rejected any implication of conspiracy, plot, or collusion between the United Kingdom or the territories and South Africa to bring about some form of political union or subjection of the territories to South Africa contrary to the wishes of their



inhabitants. To ask the United Kingdom, he said, to bring about the economic independence of the territories *vis-a-vis* South Africa was like asking it to transfer them to some other part of the world. The important fact was that economic interdependence need not and did not imply political subjugation.

The Ethiopian Representative summarized the impression given by many of the petitioners that the territories shared the common misfortune of being economically and politically harassed by a powerful and expansionist neighbor and reminded the Committee that vigilance was necessary if South Africa was to be prevented from swallowing them up. He proposed that, in conjunction with a U.N. guarantee of their territorial integrity, a crash economic program be launched on behalf of the three territories. On June 16, 1965, he introduced a draft resolution sponsored by 13 Afro-Asian members of the Committee. In its operative paragraphs the draft resolution drew the attention of the Security Council to the threat to the territorial integrity of the territories posed by the expansionist policy of the Government of the Republic of South Africa; recommended that the General Assembly and the Security Council urgently consider and initiate measures necessary to insure the territorial integrity of the territories and the safeguarding of their sovereignty; and requested the Secretary-General, pending the completion of the study requested in paragraph 5 of the Committee's resolution of November 2, 1964 (see below), to intensify, in cooperation with the specialized agencies, the provision of economic, financial, and technical assistance commensurate with the special needs of the territories.

This draft resolution was adopted on June 17, 1965, by a vote of 17 to 0, with 6 (Australia, Denmark, Italy, U.K., U.S., Venezuela) abstentions. The United States abstained because the resolution failed to recognize the significant constitutional developments that had taken place in the territories, all of which, the U.K. Representative had said, would be in a position to obtain independence within 2 years.

#### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Paragraph 5 of the Committee's November 2, 1964, resolution on Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland had requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Administering Power, to undertake a study of the ways and means of insuring the economic independence of these territories *vis-a-vis* the Republic of South Africa and to submit a report to the Special Committee and the General Assembly. In response to this request, a three-man team, nominated jointly by the Secretary-General and the United Kingdom, visited the territories in May and June 1965. The team, under the chairmanship of M. E. Chacko, Director of the Department of Trusteeship and Non-Self-

Governing Territories of the United Nations Staff, submitted its report on August 23, 1965, to the United Kingdom, a copy being simultaneously made available to the Secretary-General. On August 25, the Secretary-General forwarded to the Committee of 24 the team's report with the recommendation that the Special Committee and the General Assembly consider the establishment of a fund for assistance to the territories to supplement the assistance provided by the Administering Power and U.N. agencies. Such a fund would be made up of voluntary contributions by member states and would be administered by the Secretary-General in close consultation with the governments of the three territories and with the cooperation and assistance of the Special Fund, the Technical Assistance Board, the Economic Commission for Africa, and the Specialized Agencies concerned.

The Secretary-General also expressed his intention to recommend at an appropriate time the appointment in each territory of a Resident Representative of the U.N. Technical Assistance Board to coordinate U.N. assistance in that territory.

The Committee of 24 considered the Secretary-General's report at four meetings in September 1965. In the general debate the U.K. Representative welcomed the move to invite member governments to offer economic and technical assistance to supplement the assistance already being provided by the United Kingdom and U.N. agencies. However, he declared that in view of its already heavy bilateral assistance responsibility—\$24 million a year to the three territories at a per capita rate of \$14, or 16 percent higher than the average \$12 per capita overall assistance rate for all U.K. dependencies—the United Kingdom could not contribute to such a fund.

The U.S. Representative declared that the Secretary-General's recommendation required much additional elaboration before it could be supported by his delegation and proposed that the Secretary-General establish a working group of the interested parties to prepare a program for U.N. assistance to the territories and to relate it to the bilateral aid provided by the United Kingdom.

The need for a more detailed program was denied by the Ethiopian Representative who introduced a draft resolution urging the establishment of a voluntary fund as a matter of urgency. This draft resolution, which was ultimately sponsored by Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, Tanzania, and Yugoslavia, was adopted on September 20, 1965.

A preambular paragraph which "noted with grave concern the economic and social situation" in the territories "after several decades of colonial rule" was voted upon separately at the request of the United

Kingdom and adopted by a vote of 18 to 1 (U.K.), with 2 (Australia, U.S.) abstentions.

At the request of the U.S. Representative the three operative paragraphs were also voted upon separately. The first, which expressed the Committee's satisfaction to the Secretary-General for his efforts, was adopted by a vote of 19 (U.K., U.S.) to 0, with 3 (Bulgaria, Poland, U.S.S.R.) abstentions. The second, which endorsed the Secretary-General's recommendations, was adopted by a vote of 17 (U.K.) to 0, with 5 (Australia, Bulgaria, Poland, U.S., U.S.S.R.) abstentions. And the third, which recommended that the General Assembly take appropriate action urgently to set up a fund for the economic development of the territories as proposed by the Secretary-General, was adopted by a vote of 15 to 0, with 7 (Australia, Bulgaria, Denmark, Poland, U.K., U.S., U.S.S.R.) abstentions.

The resolution as a whole was then adopted by a vote of 18 to 0, with 4 (Bulgaria, Poland, U.S., U.S.S.R.) abstentions. The Soviet Representative explained that his delegation had abstained because it considered that such a fund would not be effective until the territories had attained political independence, a precondition for the attainment of economic independence.

#### 20TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly, by adopting on September 24, 1965, the recommendations of its General (steering) Committee, allocated to its Fourth (Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories) Committee those chapters of the reports of the Committee of 24 relating to specific territories. The Fourth Committee, having decided on September 28, 1965, to consider separately the chapters of the reports on the former High Commission Territories, considered Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland at eight meetings in October-November 1965.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Eugenie Anderson, said that in the view of her government multilateral U.N. assistance should be channeled through existing U.N. agencies unless exceptional factors made a clear and compelling case for a voluntary fund. Her delegation did not believe such exceptional factors had yet been shown to exist in the present situation. If, however, means were found to coordinate all forms of U.N. assistance to the territories, the result would be a comprehensive program to which any country could contribute as it wished. For these reasons she supported a British suggestion that the question of the establishment of a voluntary fund be referred to the Assembly's Second (Economic and Financial) Committee for consideration.



This suggestion, however, received little support in the Fourth Committee. On November 8 the Representatives of Iran and Mali introduced a draft resolution, ultimately sponsored by 31 African and Asian states, which proved to be an amalgamation of the two resolutions adopted by the Special Committee.

In its preambular paragraphs the draft resolution noted previous OAU resolutions that the United Nations should guarantee the territorial integrity of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, noted with deep concern the economic and social situation prevailing in the territories and their imperative and urgent need for U.N. assistance, and referred to the grave threat to the territorial integrity and economic stability of the territories constituted by the policies of the South African Government.

In its operative paragraphs, the draft resolution referred the matter of a U.N. guarantee of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the territories back to the Committee of 24 for further consideration in cooperation with the Secretary-General; decided to establish a fund for the economic development of the territories to be made up of voluntary contributions and to be administered by the Secretary-General; expressed the conviction that efforts to provide economic, financial, and technical assistance through U.N. programs of technical cooperation and the Specialized Agencies should continue in order to remedy the deplorable economic and social situation of the territories; and recommended that the Secretary-General appoint Resident Representatives in the three territories as proposed in his report.

The Committee proceeded to vote on the draft resolution on November 9, 1965. The paragraph calling for the establishment of the voluntary fund, which was voted on separately at the request of the Swedish Representative, was adopted by a vote of 79 to 0, with 12 (Austria, Belgium, Canada, Finland, France, Greece, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, U.S.) abstentions. The resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 84 to 1 (South Africa), with 6 (Canada, France, Netherlands, Portugal, U.K., U.S.) abstentions.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution unchanged on December 13, 1965, by a vote of 86 to 1 (South Africa), with 7 (U.S.) abstentions.

### **British Guiana**

The Subcommittee of Good Offices on British Guiana established by the Committee of 24 in 1964 was charged with visiting British Guiana and with taking any necessary measures for the implementation of General Assembly resolutions concerning this territory.

The Subcommittee was unable to visit British Guiana, nor did it receive replies to letters sent to the leaders of the two major political

parties there asking for their proposals on the implementation of the relevant General Assembly resolutions. In these circumstances the Subcommittee concluded only that the United Nations should continue its efforts to insure that British Guiana achieve independence without delay and in an atmosphere of harmony, peace, and unity and recommended that the Special Committee reaffirm its earlier resolution requesting its Subcommittee to visit British Guiana.

The U.S. and U.K. Representatives reserved the positions of their delegations with regard to these conclusions.

A resolution on British Guiana, which had been approved in the Fourth Committee by a vote of 80 to 9, with 18 (U.S.) abstentions on December 10, was considered in plenary on December 16. It recalled earlier resolutions, noted that British Guiana would achieve independence on May 26, 1966, approved the report of the Committee of 24, and requested the Administering Power not to take any action that might delay the independence of the territory. The U.S. Representative, Congressman Barratt O'Hara, explained that he had abstained because the United States did not approve all the conclusions and recommendations. Further, the United States did not believe that the United Kingdom had any intention of delaying independence as was implied in the resolution.

The General Assembly adopted the draft resolution that same day by a vote of 87 to 0, with 19 (U.S.) abstentions.

### Cook Islands

In the autumn of 1964 both the Cook Islands Legislative Assembly and the New Zealand Parliament passed a Cook Islands Constitutional Act providing for a constitution for the Cook Islands after they achieved internal self-government in 1965.

The New Zealand Government in February 1965 welcomed the Committee of 24 recommendation (approved by the General Assembly on February 18, 1965) that the United Nations appoint an observer for the Cook Islands election campaign preceding the April election and for the debate and decision in May upon the draft constitution by the newly elected Cook Islands Legislative Assembly. The Special U.N. Representative transmitted to the Secretary-General on June 30 his report on the conduct of the elections and the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly. He reported that the elections were fair and honest and that the people of the Cook Islands had exercised their rights. Further, it was his conclusion that the Legislative Assembly acted freely in choosing to associate with New Zealand rather than choosing independence.

The Constitution as amended by the new Legislative Assembly came into force on August 4.

The Special Committee considered the Cook Islands at meetings held between August 25 and September 1. The Special U.N. Representative, New Zealand's U.N. Representative, and the Premier of the Cook Islands appeared before the Committee.

Several delegations questioned the new status of the Cook Islands as a state associated with New Zealand rather than as a fully independent state. Other delegations pointed out that free association was one of the possibilities listed in relevant General Assembly resolutions. Further, the people of the Cook Islands had the right at any time to opt for complete independence.

The U.S. Delegate, Mr. Dickinson, congratulated the Premier of the Cook Islands, and through him the people of the Islands, for having achieved self-government in association with New Zealand. He also congratulated New Zealand for bringing the Cook Islands to self-government. Finally, he thanked the U.N. Representative for his diligence.

The Special Committee approved a resolution in which the Committee expressed its appreciation to the U.N. Representative for his work and to the New Zealand Government for its cooperation; thanked the Government and the people of the Cook Islands; took note of the report of the U.N. Representative; noted the statements made by the Premier of the Cook Islands and the Representative of New Zealand; and expressed the hope that the General Assembly would recommend that the United Nations assist in strengthening and developing the economy of the Islands.

After considerable discussion of the accession of the Cook Islands to self-governing status in free association with New Zealand, the Fourth Committee, on December 8, 1965, by a vote of 76 to 0, with 24 (U.S.) abstentions, adopted a draft resolution which noted that under their new Constitution the people of the Cook Islands now had full control of their internal affairs and had reserved their right to move to complete independence; considered that since the Cook Islands had thus attained full internal self-government, the transmission of information under article 73 (e) of the U.N. Charter was no longer necessary; reaffirmed the responsibility of the United Nations to assist the people of the Cook Islands in the eventual achievement of full independence if they so wished; and expressed the hope that the U.N. Development Program and the Specialized Agencies would contribute to the development of the Cook Islands.

The Fourth Committee rejected by a vote of 28 to 29, with 43 (U.S.) abstentions, a Ghanaian amendment that would have deleted reference to the fact that the Cook Islanders now had full control of their internal affairs and the ability to alter their relationship with New Zealand in favor of independence in the future.



The General Assembly approved the draft resolution on December 16 by a vote of 78 to 0, with 29 (U.S.) abstentions. The United States abstained because it could not agree with that portion of the resolution stating that the General Assembly had a continuing obligation to assist the people of the Cook Islands to achieve independence.

### *Territories Not Considered Separately in 1965*

After reviewing those portions of the Report of the Committee of 24 dealing with territories not considered separately during 1965, the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly approved seven draft resolutions—six on specific territories and one omnibus resolution.

#### **Falkland Islands (Malvinas)**

By a vote of 87 to 0, with 13 (U.S.) abstentions, the Fourth Committee on November 18 adopted a draft resolution which noted the existence of a dispute between the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom concerning sovereignty over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and invited the two governments to enter into negotiations as recommended by the Committee of 24 with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the problem, bearing in mind the provisions and objectives of the U.N. Charter and the Colonialism Declaration, and the interests of the peoples of the Islands. The two governments were requested to report to the Committee of 24 and the General Assembly at its 21st session on the results of the negotiations.

The General Assembly adopted the draft resolution on December 16 by a vote of 94 to 0, with 14 (U.S.) abstentions.

#### **Fiji**

On November 26 the Fourth Committee approved by a vote of 80 to 3 (Australia, U.K., U.S.), with 12 abstentions, a draft resolution on Fiji which recalled earlier resolutions; noted with regret that the Administering Power had not yet taken effective measures to implement General Assembly resolutions; and considered that the contemplated constitutional changes would foment separatist tendencies and stand in the way of political, economic, and social integration of the people as a whole. The draft resolution then approved the report of the Committee of 24; reaffirmed the right of the people of Fiji to freedom and independence; invited the United Kingdom to implement immediately the relevant General Assembly resolutions; requested the United Kingdom to repeal all discriminatory laws and to establish an unqualified system of democratic representation based on the principle of "one man, one vote"; further requested

the United Kingdom to report to the Special Committee and to the General Assembly on implementation of the present resolution; and decided to include the question of Fiji on the provisional agenda of the 21st session of the General Assembly.

During Fourth Committee consideration of this draft resolution Congressman O'Hara, speaking for the United States, supported the views of the U.K. Representative that the draft resolution seriously misrepresented the purpose of the 1965 constitutional changes in Fiji. As the U.K. Representative stated, the United Kingdom was working toward self-government at the pace desired by the people of Fiji. Further, implementation of the principle of "one man, one vote" would only intensify racial bitterness and suspicions among the three racial groups in Fiji. It was the intention of the United Kingdom to help the communities in Fiji to come together. To implement the proposals of the draft resolution would be asking for political revolution on racial grounds.

The draft resolution was adopted in plenary on December 16 by a vote of 90 to 3, with 14 (U.S.) abstentions.

#### Mauritius

By a vote of 77 to 0, with 17 (U.S.) abstentions, the Fourth Committee on November 26 sent to the General Assembly a draft resolution which regretted that the Administering Power had not fully implemented the call for independence; noted with deep concern any step to detach certain islands from the territory for the purpose of establishing a military base; invited the United Kingdom to grant independence to Mauritius immediately; and invited the Administering Power to take no action which would dismember the territory of Mauritius.

The resolution was adopted in plenary on December 16 by a vote of 89 to 0, with 18 (U.S.) abstentions. The United States abstained because the terms of the resolution seemed unwarranted in view of the fact that Mauritius would probably attain independence in 1966.

#### Equatorial Guinea (Fernando Póo and Rio Muni)

On November 26, 1965, the Fourth Committee approved by a vote of 90 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, a draft resolution on Equatorial Guinea which requested Spain to set the earliest possible date for independence of the territory after consulting the people on the basis of universal suffrage under the supervision of the United Nations.

The U.S. Representative, Congressman Barratt O'Hara, said that the United States had voted for the resolution with certain reservations, because it did not, in the U.S. view, adequately reflect the

rapid progress being made toward self-government in Equatorial Guinea under Spanish administration. Moreover, in voting for the resolution the United States did not intend to prejudge the result of self-determination in the territory. In a free exercise of that right, the U.S. Representative said, the result could be independence, free association with an independent state, or integration with an independent state. The people of the territory must make the choice themselves. Further, it was not for the United Nations to determine how consultation of the people should be carried out.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 16 by a vote of 103 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions.

### Gibraltar

On December 7, 1965, the Fourth Committee approved by a vote of 90 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions, a draft resolution which invited the Governments of Spain and the United Kingdom to begin talks on Gibraltar without delay, and to inform the Committee of 24 and the General Assembly at its 21st session of the results of these negotiations.

The draft resolution was adopted in plenary on December 16 by a vote of 96 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions.

### Ifni and Spanish Sahara

On December 10, 1965, the Fourth Committee approved a draft resolution on Ifni and Spanish Sahara which urgently requested Spain to take immediately all measures necessary for the liberation of the territories of Spanish Sahara and Ifni from colonial domination, and to enter into negotiations with the contending claimants on the problems relating to sovereignty presented by these two territories.

In a separate paragraph vote Spain unsuccessfully sought deletion of the reference to disputes over sovereignty, after which the draft resolution was approved by a vote of 88 to 2, with 4 (U.S.) abstentions.

In plenary another attempt to have this reference deleted was rejected by a vote of 33 to 2, with 69 (U.S.) abstentions. The resolution as a whole was then adopted on December 16 by a vote of 100 to 2 (Portugal, Spain), with 4 (France, South Africa, U.K., U.S.) abstentions.

### Small Territories

On December 16, 1965, the General Assembly considered an omnibus resolution concerning the smaller territories of American Samoa, Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Dominica, Gilbert and



Ellice Islands, Grenada, Guam, Monserrat, New Hebrides, Niue, Papua, Pitcairn, St. Helena, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Tokelau Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands, and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

The draft resolution that had been adopted by the Fourth Committee called upon the administering powers to implement without delay the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly; requested that U.N. visiting missions be permitted to visit these territories; and reaffirmed the right of the peoples of these territories to decide their constitutional status in accordance with General Assembly resolutions. The draft resolution also stated in operative paragraphs that the existence or establishment of military bases constituted an obstacle to the freedom and independence of these territories, and requested the administering powers to dismantle existing military bases and to refrain from establishing new ones. To these two paragraphs, the United States made strong objection.

During the Fourth Committee's consideration of this draft resolution, the U.S. Representative noted that nothing in the U.N. Charter prohibited the establishment of military bases in non-self-governing territories. The maintenance of such bases was a sovereign right of nations deriving from their obligation to defend their territory and their nationals. These bases safeguarded the freedom and independence of the territories in question. When the need for such bases ceased to exist, the United States would gladly devote the resources now required to maintain them to making a better life for its citizens. Until then, the United States would continue to insure their defense by every means, including the maintenance of military bases in territories under its administration. The U.S. Representative said that if the objectionable paragraphs were rejected, the United States would be pleased to vote for the draft resolution as a whole.

In separate votes, the Fourth Committee retained the paragraphs in question and the United States therefore voted against the draft resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 76 to 8 (U.S.), with 14 abstentions, on December 7, 1965.

In plenary, on December 16, separate votes were again taken on these two paragraphs. The Assembly vote on the paragraph stating that military bases were an obstacle to the freedom and independence of the territories concerned was 48 to 33 (Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Denmark, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal; South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, U.K., U.S., Uruguay), with 24 (Argentina, Austria, Central African Repub-

lic, Chile, Congo (Léopoldville), Costa Rica, El Salvador, Finland, Gabon, Honduras, Israel, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldive Islands, Mexico, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Senegal, Togo, Upper Volta, Venezuela) abstentions.

The President of the General Assembly ruled that the paragraph had failed of adoption, not having received the two-thirds majority required of important questions involving the maintenance of international peace and security under article 18 (2) of the Charter. After heated discussion the President's ruling was upheld by 56 votes (U.S.) to 30, with 9 abstentions.

The vote on the paragraph calling for dismantling of military bases and refraining from establishing new ones was 48 to 37 (Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, El Salvador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, U.K., U.S., Uruguay), with 19 (Argentina, Austria, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chile, Finland, Gabon, Iran, Israel, Ivory Coast, Malaysia, Maldive Islands, Mexico, Niger, Panama, Senegal, Togo, Upper Volta, Venezuela) abstentions. The President ruled that the paragraph was not adopted, having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority.

The General Assembly then adopted the amended resolution by a vote of 91 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions.

The U.S. Representative said that his government had had certain reservations in voting for the resolution, specifically with regard to references to earlier resolutions and reports. Moreover, the United States considered that the resolution did not take into consideration the particular circumstances in some of these small territories and did not recognize recent political advances and constitutional developments. Finally, the U.S. Representative said, the request to administering powers to allow visiting missions to visit their territories failed to recognize that decisions in this regard were the sole responsibility of each administering power.

### *Colonialism Resolution*

The General Assembly on September 24, 1965, in deciding to include an item on its agenda entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples," also decided that while all chapters of both the 1964 and 1965 reports of the Committee of 24 relating to specific territories

should be allocated to the Fourth Committee, those dealing with the future work of the Committee should go directly to plenary.

On December 17, 1965, a draft resolution concerning the work of the Committee of 24 and applying to all colonial territories was introduced in the General Assembly by the Representative of Mali, who was also the Chairman of the Committee of 24. The resolution noted that the continuation of colonial rule and the practice of *apartheid* as well as all forms of racial discrimination threatened international peace and security and constituted a crime against humanity. It reaffirmed past resolutions on colonialism; approved the 1965 report of the Committee of 24; approved a 1966 program for the Committee, including the possibility of a return visit by the Committee of 24 to Africa and the sending of visiting groups to territories in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Ocean area; requested the Committee to recommend methods by which the peoples of the small territories could exercise their right to self-determination and independence; called upon colonial powers to discontinue the violation of the rights of colonial peoples through the systematic influx of foreign immigrants and the movement of the indigenous inhabitants; requested the Committee to recommend a deadline for the accession to independence of each territory; requested all states and international institutions including the U.N. Specialized Agencies to withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of South Africa and Portugal; requested colonial powers to dismantle the military bases installed in colonial territories and to refrain from establishing new ones; and requested the Committee to notify the Security Council of situations that threatened international peace and security and to make appropriate recommendations to the Council.

The Chairman of the Committee of 24, in presenting the draft resolution, requested that it be adopted by simple majority vote. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, objected to this proposal on the ground that the resolution made recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security and thus under article 18 (2) of the U.N. Charter was an important question requiring adoption by a two-thirds majority of the Assembly. He presented a motion to that effect.

He noted that, of course, the General Assembly could decide whether a draft resolution did in fact make recommendations on international peace and security. This the Assembly could do by rejecting his motion, thus deciding that the draft resolution made no recommendation. However, he said:

I do not see how the contrary argument can be made. . . . In at least three paragraphs of the draft resolution there are specific provisions that clearly come within this category . . . the draft resolution finds that colonial rule and *Apartheid* threaten international peace and security. That is a specific finding, designed to



invoke Chapter VII of the Charter and the authority of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

. . . the draft resolution calls for the dismantling of military bases and calls on certain states to refrain from establishing new ones in colonial territories. . . .

Similarly, the Special Committee [is requested] to notify the Security Council of situations which may threaten international peace and security and to make suggestions which might assist the Council in considering appropriate measures—again an apparent reference to Chapter VII.

Many delegations expressed disagreement with the U.S. view, maintaining that the resolution made no recommendations but merely noted that certain situations threatened international peace and security. The procedural motion of the Chairman of the Committee of 24 that the draft motion be adopted by a simple majority was upheld by a vote of 59 (Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., U.A.R., Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia) to 45 (Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Laos, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, U.K., U.S., Uruguay, Venezuela), with 4 (Haiti, Malagasy Republic, Malaysia, Trinidad and Tobago) abstentions.

Separate votes on the paragraphs to which the United States had objected were taken in plenary.

The preambular paragraph which found that colonial rule and *apartheid* threatened international peace and security was adopted by 63 to 16 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions.

The operative paragraph calling for the dismantling of military bases and requesting certain states to refrain from establishing new ones in colonial territories was adopted by a vote of 49 to 37 (U.S.), with 18 abstentions.

The operative paragraph requesting the Committee of 24 to notify the Security Council of situations which might threaten international peace and security was adopted by 66 to 15 (U.S.), with 24 abstentions.

The resolution as a whole was adopted on December 20 by a vote of

74 (Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainain S.S.R., U.S.S.R., U.A.R., Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia) to 6 (Australia, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, U.K., U.S.), with 27 (Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Spain, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago) abstentions.

Ambassador Goldberg 2 days later at a press conference said that the passage of the resolution by a simple majority vote invalidated the action. He stated:

. . . under the Charter, Article 18 of the Charter, when questions of international peace and security are involved . . . a two-thirds vote is plainly required. Where action is taken by the Assembly in derogation of that requirement, that action is a complete nullity. It is null and void.

I regret very much that the Assembly disregarded the Charter and I think that everyone will have to reflect upon this very soberly in the days to come.

## SOUTHERN RHODESIA

### *Committee of 24 Consideration*

The problem of insuring self-determination for all the peoples of Southern Rhodesia and the possibility of a unilateral declaration of independence by Southern Rhodesia in the absence of any opportunity for such self-determination became so serious a problem in 1965 that it again engaged the attention, as it had in 1963, not only of the Committee of 24 but also of the full General Assembly and the Security Council.

Following announcement by Prime Minister Ian Smith on March 30, 1965, that general elections in Southern Rhodesia would be held on May 7, the Subcommittee on Southern Rhodesia of the Committee of 24 held three meetings on March 31, and April 2 and 5, 1965. The Subcommittee concluded that the results of such an election based

on the territory's 1961 constitution, which severely circumscribed the franchise of the African population, could not reflect the aspirations of the African majority in Southern Rhodesia. The Subcommittee expressed concern that a government elected by the white minority might use the election results as a pretext for a unilateral declaration of independence. It therefore recommended that the Special Committee consider the question of Southern Rhodesia as a matter of urgency.

When the Committee of 24 convened on April 6, the U.K. Representative reiterated the British position that the U.N. General Assembly, and thus the Committee of 24, had no competence to discuss Southern Rhodesia, which was a self-governing territory, not a colony. Nevertheless, he was pleased to inform the Committee of the most recent negotiations between that territory and the United Kingdom regarding the terms upon which it might be granted independence. He stated in the course of his report to the Committee that the decision to hold elections was an internal matter and entirely within the competence of the Rhodesian Government under the Rhodesian constitution.

After general debate on the gravity of the situation and the extent of U.K. responsibility to intervene in internal Southern Rhodesian affairs, a draft resolution was submitted by Cambodia, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia, which called upon the United Kingdom to cancel the scheduled elections to the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, to release all political prisoners, to repeal all repressive and discriminatory legislation, and to remove all restrictions on African political activity; and invited the United Kingdom to suspend the constitution of 1961. The draft resolution also called upon all states to abstain from providing in whatever form arms and ammunition, logistic assistance, and economic or financial aid to the minority government of Southern Rhodesia; and drew to the immediate attention of the Security Council the grave situation there in light of the elections announced for May 7, 1965.

The resolution was adopted on April 22, 1965, by a rollcall vote of 18 to 0, with 4 (Australia, Denmark, Italy, U.S.) abstentions. The United Kingdom did not participate because of its reservation with respect to the competence of the Special Committee to consider Southern Rhodesia.

The U.S. Representative explained that the United States abstained because the resolution did not reflect the realities of the relationship between the United Kingdom and the Government of Southern Rhodesia. The recommendations in the operative paragraph were unrealistic and could be misleading.



*First Security Council Consideration*

On April 30, 1965, the Security Council convened in response to a letter of April 21 from 35 African states requesting the Council to consider the deteriorating situation in Southern Rhodesia. The Foreign Ministers of Algeria and Senegal, having been selected by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to represent its case against Southern Rhodesia in the Council, were invited to participate without the right to vote.

In their opening statements the two representatives of the OAU declared the problem of Southern Rhodesia was a threat to international peace and security and defined the necessary action as that already indicated in the Committee of 24 resolution of April 22; namely, immediate abrogation of the Southern Rhodesia constitution of 1961, cancellation of the forthcoming elections, liberation of all political prisoners or detainees, and the convening of a constitutional convention. They stated that if the United Kingdom did not take preventive measures it would be considered as an accomplice in the creation of the situation that would emerge in Southern Rhodesia.

The U.K. Representative first stated his government's reservation regarding the Council's competence to consider the Southern Rhodesian problem on the basis of the material contained in the April 21 letter from the 35 African states. He then outlined and explained the following three principles underlying the policy of his government toward Southern Rhodesia: (1) that the British Government, which alone had the authority to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia, must be satisfied that any basis for independence was acceptable to the people of the country as a whole; (2) that a way forward must be sought by negotiation, not by unconstitutional or illegal action; and (3) that no one must be left in any doubt of the true constitutional position or of the political and economic consequences that would flow from an illegal declaration of independence. He said the United Kingdom did not seek to shirk or to share its great responsibility, but that it had the right to expect that the members of the Council would not make the task more difficult by calling for unconstitutional action which his government would not take.

After extensive debate, the Representative of the Ivory Coast submitted on May 5 a draft resolution, cosponsored by Jordan and Malaysia. The operative paragraphs of the draft requested the United Kingdom not to accept, and to take all necessary action to prevent, a unilateral declaration of independence; not to transfer under any circumstances any of the powers or attributes of sovereignty to its colony of Southern Rhodesia as at present governed; and to enter into consultation with all concerned with a view to convening a

conference to adopt new constitutional provisions acceptable to the majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia.

The Soviet Representative, calling the draft resolution very weak, submitted two amendments which requested the United Kingdom to cancel the May 7 elections and to grant immediate independence to Southern Rhodesia under a democratic system of government in accordance with the aspirations of the majority of the population. These amendments were rejected on the following day by a vote of 1 (U.S.S.R.) to 2 (Netherlands, U.K.), with 8 abstentions. The Ivory Coast draft resolution was then adopted unchanged by a vote of 7 to 0, with 4 (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) abstentions.

In explanation of his vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, said that his delegation had abstained on the draft resolution because of its one-sided call for action exclusively by the British Government, when it was the attitude of the Government of Southern Rhodesia that was the most critical factor. Nevertheless, he said, the United States had always adhered to the principles the resolution embodied and he hoped that the Southern Rhodesian Government would heed it and be guided by its purposes. He stated that the United States would not recognize a unilateral declaration of independence.

### *Further Committee of 24 Consideration*

The Committee of 24 began its African tour on May 25, 1965, in Lusaka, Zambia, with consideration of the situation in Southern Rhodesia. The Committee heard petitioners representing the two Rhodesian African nationalist parties—the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU)—and the Zimbabwe African Congress of Trade Unions. At the suggestion of the Tanzanian Representative, the Committee addressed an appeal to the United Kingdom to intervene with the Government of Southern Rhodesia to permit Joshua Nkomo and the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole (leaders of ZAPU and ZANU, respectively, both being held in detention camps in Southern Rhodesia) to appear before the Committee.

On May 26 the Committee adopted by a vote of 20 to 0, with 2 (Australia, U.S.) abstentions (U.K. not participating, Uruguay absent), a resolution sponsored by Cambodia, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia. The resolution requested the United Kingdom to use all its powers and prerogatives to obtain the release of all political prisoners in Southern Rhodesia and to save the lives of 24 Africans recently sentenced to death under Southern

Rhodesia's Law and Order (Maintenance) Act for their political activities.

A second draft resolution introduced by the same sponsors on May 28 expressed regret that the United Kingdom had not yet responded to the May 25 appeal requesting the release of Mr. Nkomo and the Reverend Mr. Sithole and other political prisoners; requested the United Kingdom to take the necessary steps to enable a subcommittee of the Committee of 24 to proceed to Southern Rhodesia; and drew the attention of the Security Council to the extremely serious situation that would arise if the authorities in Southern Rhodesia were to execute the persons then sentenced to death under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act.

In the debate on this resolution the U.K. Representative stated that his government had no power or authority to implement actions in internal affairs such as those requested by the resolution; it would, however, convey a report of the Committee's proceedings on these matters to the Rhodesian authorities. The second draft resolution was adopted the same day, May 28, by a vote of 20 to 0, with 2 (Australia, U.S.) abstentions. The United Kingdom did not participate in the vote, and Uruguay was absent.

In explanation of the U.S. vote on both resolutions, Ambassador Marietta P. Tree said that her delegation agreed entirely with the humanitarian aims of the resolution and shared the desire to see rapid constitutional progress toward the goal of universal adult suffrage. Its abstention was due only to the fact that the resolutions, in requesting action which could not be effected without the full cooperation of the Southern Rhodesian Government, did not reflect realistically the U.K. position. She said the United States was deeply concerned for the fate of the persons sentenced to death in Southern Rhodesia and she wished to add its voice to the appeal for clemency.

### *General Assembly Resolutions*

On September 24, 1965, the General Assembly included on its agenda the reports of the Committee of 24 and allocated to the Fourth Committee the chapters of those reports dealing with specific territories. Southern Rhodesia was considered as the first item on the agenda of the Fourth Committee. Debate began on October 5 in an atmosphere of increasing expectation that a unilateral declaration of independence by Southern Rhodesia was near at hand. The U.K. Representative expressed the traditional British reservation regarding the competence of the United Nations to consider Southern Rhodesia. After outlining the basic principles of his government's Rhodesian policy he described the course of recent negotiations



leading up to the talks between the British Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of Rhodesia which were commencing in London that same day.

In the debate that followed, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Eugenie Anderson, said that her government supported the particular role and special responsibility of the United Kingdom in seeking by negotiation and peaceful change the independence of Southern Rhodesia on the basis of self-determination of all its people. Since her delegation believed that the Committee should make unmistakably clear to the Southern Rhodesian Government the international consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence, she stated that she was authorized to say that her government fully recognized the competence of the U.K. Government in the matter, and fully shared the British Prime Minister's analysis of the grave consequences which would flow from a unilateral declaration of independence. Furthermore, the U.S. Government would not recognize any regime in Southern Rhodesia purporting to emerge from an illegal, unilateral declaration of independence, and would take the necessary concrete measures in concert with other governments in support of that policy.

### First Resolution

On October 11 the U.K. Representative read a statement issued by his government explaining why the London discussions between the British and Rhodesian Prime Ministers had broken down on October 8. This was followed by Guinea's submission, on behalf of 39 other cosponsors, of a draft resolution which, although only an interim measure, they felt was urgently required as a warning to the Southern Rhodesian Government against a unilateral declaration of independence. The Fourth Committee agreed to adjourn its general debate in order to vote on this resolution.

The draft resolution condemned any attempt on the part of the Southern Rhodesian authorities to seize independence by illegal means; called upon the United Kingdom not to accept, and to take all possible measures to prevent, such a declaration of independence; and also called on the United Kingdom to take all necessary steps to put an immediate end to the rebellion, should the Southern Rhodesian authorities nevertheless declare their independence.

The resolution was adopted in Committee by a vote of 95 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 1 (France) abstention. A report of the Committee's action was immediately sent to the General Assembly where, on the following day, October 12, the resolution was adopted by a vote of 107 (U.S.) to 2, with 1 abstention.

## Second Resolution

The Fourth Committee resumed its consideration of Southern Rhodesia on October 26, 1965. The next day the Algerian, Senegalese, and Indian Representatives introduced a draft resolution sponsored by the following members: Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Iran, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

This draft was much stronger than the resolution adopted earlier. It noted in its preamble that the United Kingdom as administering power had not implemented the previous U.N. resolutions on the situation in Southern Rhodesia. In its key operative paragraphs it solemnly warned the authorities in Southern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom, as the administering power, that the United Nations would oppose any declaration of independence not based upon universal adult suffrage; called upon all states to refrain from rendering any assistance to the minority regime in Southern Rhodesia; requested that the United Kingdom as administering power in Southern Rhodesia unilaterally repeal all repressive and discriminatory legislation, remove all restrictions on African political activity, release all political prisoners and restrictees, suspend the Rhodesian constitution of 1961, and call a constitutional conference to make new constitutional arrangements. The resolution further called upon the United Kingdom to employ all necessary measures, including military force, to carry out these actions, and drew the attention of the Security Council to the explosive situation in Southern Rhodesia which threatened international peace and security.

The Irish Representative stated that his delegation could not accept portions of the resolution, particularly the references to the use of military force and to the threat of international peace and security. Calling attention to the fact that renewed and delicate negotiations between the British and Rhodesian Prime Ministers were taking place at that time in Salisbury, he urged that the Committee delay action on the resolution. This position was endorsed by many other Western representatives. The U.K. Representative urged the sponsors not to press for adoption of a resolution that, since it was unacceptable to so many delegations, would destroy the moral force of the General

Assembly's earlier resolution which had been adopted with near unanimity.

When the sponsors chose to proceed with their draft resolution, the Mexican and Costa Rican Representatives introduced amendments to modify the elements to which many delegations had expressed objections. The Costa Rican amendment sought to amend the wording of the paragraph that solemnly warned the present authorities in Southern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom to read: "Solemnly warns the present authorities in Southern Rhodesia and informs the United Kingdom . . ." a change which the Costa Rican Representative explained would avoid placing the entities involved on equal footing.

There were three Mexican amendments. The first sought to recognize limitations on the ability of the United Kingdom to interfere with internal self-government in Southern Rhodesia by noting in the preamble that the administering power had not yet "been able" to implement previous resolutions on Southern Rhodesia. The second, which was substantially identical with the Costa Rican amendment, would have limited the Assembly to informing the United Kingdom, rather than solemnly warning it, that the United Nations would oppose a declaration of independence by a white minority government. The third called for the deletion of the reference to use of military force from the operative paragraph which called upon the United Kingdom to employ all necessary measures to carry out the purpose of the resolution.

The debate continued for several days during which the Ministerial talks in Salisbury ended inconclusively. On November 1, the U.K. Representative informed the Committee of the substance of the British Prime Minister's statement in the House of Commons that day, and referred to the proposal for a Royal Commission to continue pursuing negotiations with the Southern Rhodesian Government. He concluded that it would be wrong for the Committee to adopt the proposed draft resolution while such negotiations were in progress.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador James M. Nabrit, Jr., likewise urged against adoption of a resolution at that time. He stated, moreover, that the United States could not agree to request the United Kingdom to employ military force. Although the situation in Southern Rhodesia was alarming, his delegation did not consider it to be a threat to international peace and security. For these reasons his delegation would be unable to vote in favor of the draft resolution unless the Mexican amendment to delete the reference to military force was adopted.

In the voting that followed, the Costa Rican amendment was rejected by a vote of 32 (U.S.) to 66, with 5 abstentions. The second



Mexican amendment was not put to the vote after a ruling by the Chair that it was identical with the Costa Rican amendment.

The Mexican amendment concerning the preamble was rejected by a vote of 23 (U.S.) to 66, with 14 abstentions. The third Mexican amendment to delete reference to the use of military force was rejected by a vote of 31 (U.S.) to 66, with 5 abstentions.

The draft resolution as a whole was then adopted by a vote of 79 to 8 (Australia, Belgium, Canada, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, U.S.), with 17 (Austria, Brazil, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Ireland, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Panama, Spain, Sweden) abstentions. The United Kingdom did not participate in any of these votes in view of its reservation on the competence of the United Nations to concern itself with Southern Rhodesian affairs.

The General Assembly considered the Fourth Committee's second report on Southern Rhodesia on November 5. The Costa Rican Representative expressed the reservations of many of the Latin American delegations on three of the operative paragraphs of the draft resolution. He found the paragraph that appealed to all states to use all their powers against a unilateral declaration of independence dangerous, and preferred that the resolution should request such action only of states that were members of the United Nations and subject to its control. In addition, he expressed objection to the paragraphs that called upon the United Kingdom to use force and that characterized the Southern Rhodesian situation as a "threat to international peace and security." He asked the General Assembly to vote separately on these three paragraphs.

The Mexican Representative requested a separate vote on the three words "including military force."

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Eugenie Anderson, expressed her delegation's regret that the resolution before the plenary would neither command the near unanimity of the Assembly's previous resolution, nor achieve the intended purpose of contributing to a solution of the difficult problem facing the Assembly. She declared that the two paragraphs referring to the use of military force and to the threat to international peace and security were completely unacceptable to her delegation. Despite the fact, therefore, that it was at one with the sponsors in seeking justice, self-determination, and independence for all the people of Southern Rhodesia, the U.S. delegation would have to oppose adoption of the resolution.

The operative paragraph appealing to "all states" to oppose a unilateral declaration of independence was adopted by a vote of 82 (U.S.) to 3, with 17 abstentions. By a vote of 68 to 34 (U.S.),

with 4 abstentions, the words "including military force" were retained in the operative paragraph which called on the United Kingdom to prevent illegal action by the Southern Rhodesian Government. The paragraph itself was adopted by a vote of 72 to 25 (U.S.), with 10 abstentions. The operative paragraph characterizing the Southern Rhodesian situation as a threat to international peace and security was adopted by a vote of 76 to 14 (U.S.), with 14 abstentions.

The resolution as a whole was then adopted by a rollcall vote of 82 to 9 (Australia, Belgium, Canada, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, U.S.), with 18 (Austria, Brazil, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Panama, Spain, Sweden) abstentions. The United Kingdom again did not participate in the voting.

### Third Resolution

On November 11 the Rhodesian Prime Minister's unilateral declaration of independence was reported to the morning session of the Fourth Committee by the U.K. Representative, who stated that his delegation had requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council. Calling attention to article 12 of the U.N. Charter which prohibits the General Assembly from making recommendations on matters of which the Security Council is seized, he urged the Committee to await the outcome of the debate in the Security Council instead of deciding to resume immediately consideration of Southern Rhodesia as the African representatives proposed.

The Committee decided, however, to proceed with consideration of Southern Rhodesia that afternoon. The Algerian Representative introduced a short draft resolution which condemned the unilateral declaration of independence by the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia; invited the United Kingdom to implement immediately the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council in order to put an end to the rebellion; and recommended that the Security Council consider the situation as a matter of urgency.

After several representatives, including the U.S. Representative, made clear that their votes in favor did not affect the reservations their delegations had expressed about portions of previous resolutions cited in the Algerian draft resolution, the Committee adopted the latter almost unanimously by a vote of 102 (U.S.) to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 1 (France) abstention.

The President of the General Assembly reconvened the Assembly late that afternoon to receive the report of the Fourth Committee, which

was presented orally because of its urgency. The Representatives of Algeria and Ethiopia immediately urged adoption of the draft resolution. The U.K. Representative explained that his delegation would not participate since the Security Council would shortly consider the Southern Rhodesia situation. The U.S. Representative explained that his delegation would vote for the resolution, but made clear that the United States maintained and reaffirmed its important reservations concerning some parts of previously adopted resolutions referred to in the draft resolution at hand. The French Representative explained that for the same reason his delegation felt compelled to abstain. The General Assembly adopted the resolution by a vote of 104 (U.S.) to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 1 (France) abstention.

### *Second Security Council Consideration*

On November 11 the U.K. Representative requested the Security Council to consider the situation in Southern Rhodesia brought about by the unilateral declaration of independence of the Smith government. The same day, 57 African and Asian states made similar requests. On the basis of informal consultations with members of the Council, the Council President for that month, Mr. Ortiz-Sanz of Bolivia, convened the Security Council on the morning of November 12. In response to their requests, the Representatives of Algeria, India, Pakistan, Ghana, Zambia, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Mali, Tanzania, Nigeria, and later of Guinea, Ethiopia, Mauritania, The Gambia, Jamaica, Somalia, and the Sudan were invited to participate without the right of vote.

The first speaker was Michael Stewart, the British Foreign Secretary, who stated that the United Kingdom had requested an immediate Council session, first, because an attempt to establish in Africa an illegal regime based on minority rule was a matter of world concern, and second, in order to ask for active support of the measures that the United Kingdom was about to take. He said his government did not believe the use of force could solve this problem. He understood the feelings of those who were asking for such action, but it was one thing to start the use of force, it was another to predict or contain its extent. For that reason his government had decided to take measures short of force. Mr. Stewart announced a series of such measures being taken by the United Kingdom and invited other U.N. members to take action appropriate under their own laws to support these measures.

The Representative of Ghana, speaking on behalf of the African states, charged the United Kingdom with having permitted the



situation in Southern Rhodesia to develop to the point of rebellion. He pointed out that although British colonial history is replete with examples of the suspension of constitutions and the dispatch of troops to recalcitrant colonies to maintain law and order, most recently in Aden and British Guiana, nothing of the sort was being done in the case of Southern Rhodesia. For this reason, he said, Africans were forced to the conclusion that the United Kingdom was always ready to order its troops to shoot colonial subjects when their skin was black or brown but not when their skin was white. He called upon the Council to take action under chapter VII of the U.N. Charter, declaring that events in Southern Rhodesia definitely constituted a threat to international peace and security.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, endorsed the measures announced by Foreign Secretary Stewart and said, "It is now for all of us to stand behind the United Kingdom, the responsible authority, . . . to make effective the measures which it has taken." He announced that the United States had recalled its Consul General from Salisbury, withdrawn diplomatic status from those persons on the staff of the British Embassy in Washington who represented the Southern Rhodesian authorities, and instituted a comprehensive embargo on arms and military equipment to Southern Rhodesia. He further stated that the United States intended promptly to suspend action on all U.S. Government loans or credit guarantees to Southern Rhodesia, to discourage all American private travel to Southern Rhodesia, and to suspend establishment of an import quota for sugar from Southern Rhodesia in 1966.

At the suggestion of the Jordanian Representative, the Council invited Portugal and the Republic of South Africa, the two states that had voted against the General Assembly resolution on Southern Rhodesia, to participate in the deliberations of the Council without the right to vote. Both states subsequently declined the invitation.

In accordance with a second suggestion by the Jordanian Representative, the Council adopted the same day, by a vote of 10 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 (France) abstention, a brief interim resolution condemning the unilateral declaration of independence by the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia, and calling upon all states not to recognize or render any assistance to the illegal regime established by that minority.

During the course of succeeding debate two draft resolutions were submitted to the Council, one by the United Kingdom and the other by the Ivory Coast. The British draft resolution would have determined that the continuance of the situation in Southern Rhodesia resulting from the unilateral declaration of independence was "likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security,"

and called upon all states to lend all necessary assistance and support to the United Kingdom in making effective the measures taken by that government, including financial and economic measures, to bring the rebellion to an end.

The Ivory Coast resolution, however, would have determined that the unilateral declaration of independence constituted a threat to international peace and security, and called upon all states to "enforce on the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia a complete interruption of economic relations, including an embargo on supplies of oil and petroleum products, and of rail, sea, air, postal telegraphic, radio and other means of communication and severance of diplomatic and consular relations, in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter." This draft resolution would have had the Security Council further decide to take against the Salisbury regime all the enforcement measures provided for under articles 42 and 43 of the Charter.

Consultations and corridor negotiations over the next several days brought the texts of the two resolutions gradually closer to one another. The two critical points on which the discussions came to focus were whether the situation in Southern Rhodesia in fact constituted a threat to international peace and security, requiring the application of mandatory measures, and whether there should be a specific call for an oil embargo, a measure upon which African opinion was insistent. Following interventions by the U.S. and Uruguayan Representatives, a compromise text was submitted on November 19 by Bolivia and Uruguay.

This draft stated that the situation resulting from the proclamation of independence by the illegal authorities in Southern Rhodesia was of grave concern, that the United Kingdom should put an end to it, and that its "continuance in time" constituted a threat to international peace and security. It called upon all states to refrain from any action which would assist the illegal regime, to desist from providing it with arms, equipment, and military material, and to do their utmost to break all economic relations with Southern Rhodesia, including the institution of an embargo on oil and petroleum products. It called upon the United Kingdom to enforce urgently these measures, as well as those it had announced, to quell the rebellion and to take immediate measures, since the constitution of 1961 had broken down, to allow the people of Southern Rhodesia to determine their own future consistent with the objectives of the U.N. Declaration on Colonialism.

In introducing the draft resolution, the Uruguayan Representative said that it did not specify whether chapter VI (peaceful settlement) or chapter VII of the Charter was being brought to bear, nor did it

define a criterion that might imply the use of armed forces in the circumstances.

On November 20 the draft resolution was adopted by a vote of 10 to 0, with 1 (France) abstention.

The Soviet Representative, in explanation of his vote, characterized the U.K. action in bringing the Southern Rhodesia issue to the Security Council as an attempt to whitewash British policy, which was fundamentally responsible for the racist crimes being committed in Southern Rhodesia. It was also obvious, he said, that the Southern Rhodesian racists would never have dared to carry out their criminal plans without the blessing of the governments of other NATO countries, primarily the United States. The refusal of the South African and Portuguese Governments to participate in the Council meeting on this subject was, he asserted, evidence of criminal conspiracy with the Smith regime. Nevertheless, he added, although the Soviet delegation would have preferred stronger action by the Council, it could support the compromise text because of the views expressed by the African countries and because the Rhodesian issue would remain on the agenda of the Security Council.

The Representative of the Ivory Coast stated his regret that the resolution adopted had not recognized the necessity of sanctions under chapter VII of the Charter. In view of the probability that the Council would have to meet again to consider more adequate measures, he said he would leave the resolution he had submitted on behalf of the African states on the table for consideration by the Council at that time.

Ambassador Goldberg welcomed the constructive resolution sponsored by Bolivia and Uruguay. He cited the statement of the Uruguayan Representative that the text did not mention whether chapter VI or chapter VII of the Charter was being brought to bear, and declared that this accorded with the views of the United States. He pledged that the United States would urgently examine the feasibility and effectiveness of additional trade sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. In this spirit he announced that, in addition to the measures taken earlier, the President of the United States had suspended the Southern Rhodesian sugar quota for 1965 and had directed that the shipment of sugar under that quota, then in transit to the United States, not be accepted. Ambassador Goldberg said that the Council's actions and the fact that this matter would be kept under continuing review demonstrated that the nations of the world could not and would not stand idly by while a minority violated principles that the world community held most sacred.

The U.K. Representative, Lord Caradon, agreed with the Uruguayan Representative that the resolution did not fall under chap-



ter VII of the Charter. He explained that although his government saw considerable difficulties in the application of the further measures proposed, it was ready urgently to examine the implications of those measures. He declared the Council was agreed there should be an early end to the rebellion leading to a settlement based on justice and equality. What remained was for the nations with diplomatic and trading relations with Southern Rhodesia to respond to the Council's resolution by taking without delay actions similar to the practical measures already taken by the United Kingdom.

The Bolivian Representative stressed that although the U.K. Representative and the representatives of the African states had favored different degrees of sanctions, both sides had agreed that the United Kingdom continued to be the only legitimate government of Southern Rhodesia. It followed, he asserted, that if developments showed that those who distrusted the effectiveness of the announced British measures were right, the United Kingdom would be under moral obligation not to hesitate to use force should this move be absolutely necessary to eliminate the rebellion, to guarantee the rule of law and order in Southern Rhodesia, and to render account to the world of the special responsibility which from that moment lay in the hands of the United Kingdom.

## TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

### *Committee of 24 Consideration*

During its trip to Africa from May 25 to June 18, the Committee of 24 considered the situation in the Portuguese African territories at eight meetings held largely in Dar es Salaam. Several petitioners representing FRELIMO (The Liberation Front of Mozambique), MPLA (Popular Liberation Movement), and other nationalist organizations operating among refugees from the Portuguese territories were heard.

In the ensuing general debate, Ambassador Marietta Tree outlined U.S. policy.

First, the United States upheld the view of the General Assembly that the territories under Portuguese administration were non-self-governing territories within the meaning of chapter XI of the United Nations Charter. Secondly, the United States had steadfastly supported the right of the peoples of the Portuguese territories to a full and genuine exercise of self-determination that included the choice

of future status, whether independence or any other form the people might select. However, the United States could not accept the petitioners' thesis that the situation in Mozambique could be changed only by violence. Even now, the struggle for self-determination could be channeled into peaceful negotiations.

In reply to the charge made by the Soviet and several African delegates that NATO supported Portuguese colonial policy and that NATO weapons were being used in Portugal's African territories—a charge that became a major issue of the debate—the U.S. Representative stated that the area within which the North Atlantic Treaty was operative did not include the Portuguese African territories. The Treaty was quite clear on that point. And there were no secret protocols in existence defining the operative area in any other manner.

She further reaffirmed that the United States had for a number of years refused to provide arms and military equipment to Portugal for use in its overseas territories, and had, as well, prohibited direct export of such items to the territories.

On June 10 a draft resolution sponsored by Cambodia, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia was adopted by a vote of 18 to 2 (U.K., U.S.), with 3 (Australia, Denmark, Italy) abstentions. It contained an operative paragraph as follows:

“ . . . calling upon all States, and in particular, the military allies of Portugal within the framework of NATO, to refrain from supplying that country with arms and munitions and all other forms of assistance so long as the Portuguese Government fails to renounce its policy of colonial domination.”

In addition the resolution declared that the attitude of Portugal toward the African population both of its colonies and of neighboring states constituted a threat to peace and security in Africa, called upon the Specialized Agencies to refrain from granting Portugal any financial, economic, or technical assistance, and requested the Security Council to consider the application against Portugal of the appropriate measures laid down in the Charter to enforce compliance with its resolutions.

### *Activities of Foreign Economic and Other Interests*

In 1964 the Committee of 24 had requested its Subcommittee I (Denmark, Ethiopia, Mali, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia) to report on activities of foreign economic and other interests that were impeding the implementation of the Colonialism

Declaration in the Portuguese African territories. The U.N. Secretariat was requested to prepare basic studies for the Subcommittee's consideration.

The Subcommittee considered this problem in 1965 at four meetings in New York during the early part of the 20th General Assembly. At these meetings it was decided that the Subcommittee's basic report should consist of the record of the statements of Subcommittee members and excerpts from the testimony of petitioners before the Committee of 24 during its trip in Africa. It was decided to attach as appendixes the two studies on Angola and Mozambique prepared by the U.N. Secretariat, one of them concerning mining and the other concerning concession, occupation, and settlement of land.

The conclusions of this extremely lengthy report found that the presence of foreign economic and other interests was impeding the progress of the territories toward independence. Specifically, the report concluded that Portugal had expropriated rights to the natural resources of the territories that belonged inalienably to the inhabitants of the territories. By granting concessions to exploit this wealth to foreign investors in return for a share of the profits, Portugal was not only establishing an economic base from which to obtain funds to finance its activities in the territories, but was enlisting these firms as active supporters and accomplices in its policy of political and economic repression of the inhabitants.

The Danish Representative submitted a minority report in which he concluded that the only finding that could be drawn from the available material was that economic conditions in the territories were far below generally accepted standards and that the native population was receiving far too small a share of the profits. Although it had been shown that foreign investors were involved in most sectors of the economy, no proof was adduced that those interests were impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The report was submitted to the full Committee of 24 on October 27, 1965. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Eugenie Anderson, objected to its adoption. She pointed out that nowhere in the report were the benefits of foreign investment to the welfare of the people and to the territories' economic development even considered, much less weighed against the alleged short-run effect foreign investment might have in support of the *status quo*. The report was, furthermore, based upon an oversimplified, outworn, and doctrinaire Marxist point of view.

She pointed out that the charge of collusion between foreign-owned firms in the territories and the Portuguese Government to the detri-



ment of the local inhabitants was substantiated only by evidence that was contradicted in the report itself.

Ambassador Anderson suggested that the report be rewritten to reflect the balance appropriate to such a study before it was submitted to the General Assembly. She requested that in any event a vote be taken on the report.

The report was adopted unchanged by a vote of 14 to 3 (Australia, U.K., U.S.), with 4 (Chile, Denmark, Italy, Venezuela) abstentions, and was included in the report of the Committee of 24 to the 20th General Assembly.

### *Security Council Consideration*

A Security Council meeting to consider the situation in the territories under Portuguese administration was formally requested by 32 states members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in a letter of July 28, 1965. The Council did not meet, however, until November 4, 1965, after a further request by the Foreign Ministers of Liberia, the Malagasy Republic, Sierra Leone, and Tunisia, who had been appointed to represent the OAU before the Council. Foreign Minister Franco Nogueira represented Portugal.

### **Background**

The Portuguese African territories had last been considered by the Security Council in December 1963, shortly after discussions in New York between Representatives of Portugal and several African states had broken down. In its resolution of December 11, 1963, the Council had expressed regret that the discussions had not achieved the desired results, urged the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to have the talks resumed, and deprecated the "non-compliance" of Portugal with the Security Council resolution of July 31, 1963. That resolution had called on Portugal to take specific actions culminating in the granting of independence to the inhabitants of its territories.

Pursuant to this resolution the Secretary-General had made further attempts in 1964 to bring about a resumption of discussion, but without success.

### **Council Action**

In their opening statements the OAU representatives charged Portugal with failure to prepare the inhabitants of its territories for independence as called for by the Council's resolution of July 1963. On the contrary, they said, Portugal had intensified its repression of these inhabitants by economic, political, and, especially, military means.

It sought to justify its policy by an illogical, casuistical definition of self-determination—the mere consent and adherence of the population to a certain political, economic, and social system. Further, the OAU representatives charged Portugal's NATO allies with providing the economic and military aid without which Portugal's continuing resistance to change would be impossible.

The OAU spokesmen asked for a Security Council finding that the situation in the territories, which was even more critical than in 1963, constituted a threat to international peace and security. They asked the Council to call for a total embargo on arms sales to Portugal and for mandatory economic measures to enforce Portugal's compliance with previous U.N. resolutions.

The Portuguese Representative rejected the charges that his government's policy was one of repression or exploitation of the inhabitants of its African territories. He suggested that any threat to international peace and security that might exist arose from the active support given Portuguese insurgent forces by neighboring African states. He proposed, therefore, the appointment of a sub-committee of the Security Council, including a representative of Portugal and a representative of the African countries, to investigate "bases and camps in foreign territories and infiltrations across borders" and to assess whether the situation was indeed a threat to international peace and security. This proposal was ignored by the African Representatives and was never seriously considered.

On November 11, in reply to a charge made by the Soviet Representative that Portugal's NATO allies were supplying the war material being used by Portugal against the inhabitants of its African territories, the U.S. Representative said:

... the United States has, for some time, consonant with the recommendations of the Council, felt that arms supplied to Portugal for use in its Overseas Territories, or arms supplied for other purposes and used in its Overseas Territories, might well contribute to increased friction, tension and danger. With these considerations in mind, the United States has, for a number of years, forbidden the provision of arms or military equipment from public, or private, sources, without specific assurances that they will not be used in the Territories.

In line with the same objectives, the United States has also prohibited direct export of arms and military equipment to the Portuguese Territories. This is a firm policy to which the United States will continue to adhere.

With the unilateral declaration of independence by the authorities in Southern Rhodesia on November 11, the Security Council turned its attention to that issue, and it was not until November 22 that it returned to the Portuguese territories question.

During the debate, the U.S. Representative had conducted informal consultations aimed primarily at bringing about a resumption of dis-

cussions between Portugal and the African states, under the aegis of the Secretary-General.

On November 22 the Tunisian Representative stated on behalf of all the African nations that had participated in the discussions that they understood the principle of self-determination as covering all possible choices by the people concerned—from that of remaining forever as Portuguese provinces to that of immediate independence. Indeed, if the people of Mozambique, Angola, and Portuguese Guinea freely and without constraint expressed a desire to remain as they were, then he and his colleagues would have nothing further to say. If Portugal shared this definition of self-determination, discussions could be undertaken. But they should be held with the representatives of the populations concerned and must relate not only to the scope of the principle of self-determination but to the method, the means, and the modalities of implementing this principle.

The Council then considered a draft resolution sponsored by the Ivory Coast, Jordan, Liberia, the Malagasy Republic, Malaysia, Sierre Leone, and Tunisia, which provided for Security Council affirmation that the situation in the Portuguese territories endangered international peace and security; reaffirmation of the interpretation of the principle of self-determination set forth in the 15th General Assembly's Colonialism Declaration and in the Security Council's own resolution of December 11, 1963; review of the call upon Portugal to give immediate effect to that principle; and extension of the limited arms embargo recommended in its resolution of July 1963 to a total embargo. The draft resolution also called upon all states to boycott trade with Portugal.

When it became clear that the votes of the two Latin American Representatives, Uruguay and Bolivia, would be decisive, the Representative of the Ivory Coast proposed that the draft resolution be put to an immediate vote. The Uruguayan Representative, however, requested a separate vote on the provisions relating to a threat to international peace and security, the arms embargo extension, and the trade boycott, stating that his delegation could not support those provisions in their present form.

Since the Uruguayan position virtually eliminated the possibility that the resolution would be adopted without change, the sponsors proposed a short suspension of the meeting to discuss possible modification. A compromise was incorporated in two amendments submitted by the Uruguayan Representative and in a tacit agreement that the provision calling for a total trade boycott of Portugal should be voted upon separately. This provision was subsequently deleted by a vote of 4 (Ivory Coast, Jordan, Malaysia, U.S.S.R.) to 0, with 7 abstentions.



The first Uruguayan amendment characterized the situation in the Portuguese territories as seriously disturbing to, rather than endangering, international peace and security, thus making clear that the situation was not in the Council's opinion a situation within the terms of chapter VII of the Charter which provides for enforcement action. The amendment was adopted by a vote of 10 to 0, with 1 (France) abstention. The second Uruguayan amendment proposed a rewording of the arms embargo provisions so that the Security Council would request all states to refrain from offering the Portuguese Government any assistance that would enable it to continue its repression of the people of the territories under its administration, and to take all the necessary measures to prevent the sale and supply of arms and military equipment to the Portuguese Government for this purpose, including the sale and shipment of equipment and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition to be used in the territories under Portuguese administration.

This amendment was adopted by a vote of 8 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 (France, Netherlands, U.K.) abstentions. The amended resolution as a whole was adopted on November 23 by a vote of 7 to 0, with 4 (France, Netherlands, U.K., U.S.) abstentions.

Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, explaining the U.S. vote, reaffirmed the right of the peoples of the Portuguese territories to self-determination and recalled U.S. efforts to make this right a reality. The Uruguayan amendment concerning a voluntary embargo on arms sales was a proper and appropriate recommendation for the Council to make and reflected what had been the U.S. position for some time. His delegation had, therefore, been able to vote for this amendment.

Nevertheless, he said his delegation was forced to abstain on the resolution as a whole, because it did not emphasize the primary responsibility of the Council in this situation to explore every possible avenue toward a peaceful solution of the problem. The United States believed, the U.S. Representative continued, that the most practical possibility for self-determination would be further discussions between representatives of Portugal and the African nations as called for by the Security Council in December 1963.

He emphasized that the United States continued to hope strongly that such discussions would take place and noted that the Secretary-General retained his authorization under prior resolutions of the Council to play a constructive role in the development of such negotiations.

*General Assembly Consideration*

The General Assembly on September 24, 1965, included on its agenda the reports of the Committee of 24 and allocated to the Fourth Committee the chapters of these reports dealing with the Portuguese African territories.

Consideration of these territories began in the Fourth Committee on December 2, 1965, with the hearing of several petitioners representing independence movements in Mozambique, Angola, and Portuguese Guinea. The United Nations was urged by these petitioners to suspend Portugal's membership in the Organization, to provide increased assistance to the African people in the Portuguese territories, to institute new and expand existing educational training programs for students from the Portuguese African territories, and to impose a complete commercial embargo against Portugal.

On December 15, 35 Asian and African states introduced a draft resolution. The preambular paragraphs noted with deep concern that the activities of foreign financial interests in these territories were an impediment to the African people in the realization of their aspiration to freedom and independence; considered that the evidence submitted by petitioners confirmed that the Government of Portugal was continuing to use aid and weapons that it received from its military allies against the populations of Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, and other territories under its administration; and expressed the conviction that the attitude of Portugal toward the African population of its colonies and of the neighboring states constituted a threat to international peace and security.

In its key paragraphs, the draft resolution requested all states to prevent those activities of their nationals with financial interests in the Portuguese territories which constituted an impediment to the attainment by the people of their legitimate rights of freedom and independence; urged member states to break off diplomatic and consular relations with the Government of Portugal, close their ports to all Portuguese flag vessels, prohibit their ships from entering any Portuguese ports, refuse landing or transit rights to all Portuguese aircraft, boycott all trade with Portugal; and appealed to all the Specialized Agencies, in particular the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, to refrain from granting Portugal any financial, economic, or technical assistance. In addition, the resolution reiterated the earlier provision of the Security Council resolution calling for the boycott of arms and military equipment, and of equipment and materials for their manufacture or maintenance.

### U.S. Position

Speaking on December 18, Ambassador Eugenie Anderson stated that the U.S. delegation could not vote for the draft resolution on several grounds. She rejected any allegation that Portugal's African policies were supported by NATO. "That organization is concerned with the defense of the North Atlantic area," she said, "an area which does not encompass the Portuguese African territories." She quoted Ambassador Goldberg's statement in the Security Council on November 11, regarding U.S. arms policy toward Portugal (see page 313).

In response to a query by the Hungarian Representative concerning B-26 aircraft that had been illegally exported from the United States to Portugal, Ambassador Anderson indicated that seven such aircraft had indeed been illegally flown to Portugal over a period of several weeks in mid-1965, totally without the knowledge of the U.S. Government and in contravention of U.S. law. The persons responsible had been indicted on October 8, 1965, in the U.S. District Court in Buffalo, New York, for violation of U.S. munitions control legislation. It was, she said, precisely because of the U.S. arms policy that the individuals concerned resorted to smuggling these aircraft out of the United States, and it was because of their violation of this policy that the defendants were to be tried in the Federal Court in Buffalo.

The U.S. Representative rejected the conclusions of the "Report of the Committee of 24 on the Activities of Foreign Economic and Other Interests" as being biased, doctrinaire, logically unsound, and contradicted by other evidence. She emphasized that foreign investment does not seek colonial outlets but that it seeks economic opportunity, and pointed to the fact that the bulk of American foreign investment is flowing not to colonial areas of the world, but to Western Europe.

She reaffirmed the U.S. view that the situation in the Portuguese territories did not constitute a threat to international peace and security, recalling that less than a month earlier the Security Council had come to a similar conclusion.

### Assembly Action

A request by the Portuguese Representative for a separate vote on critical paragraphs of the resolution was rejected by the sponsors of the resolution, and therefore put to a vote. The Portuguese proposal was rejected by a rollcall vote of 32 (U.S.) to 52, with 12 abstentions.

Immediately thereafter the resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 58 to 21 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions. The unusually large number of negative votes on a colonialism resolution reflected the resentment of many Latin American delegations at the Afro-Asian refusal to allow separate paragraph votes.



On December 21 the resolution was adopted in plenary without change by a vote of 66 to 26 (Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, U.K., U.S., Uruguay, Venezuela), with 15 (Chile, China, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Japan, Laos, Norway, Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey) abstentions.

## SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

### *Committee of 24 Consideration*

The question of the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa was considered by the Committee of 24 at a meeting at U.N. Headquarters on April 13, 1965, and at 14 meetings held in Africa between May 27 and June 17, 1965, where 12 petitioners were heard.

On June 15, 1965, India introduced a draft resolution, cosponsored by 12 members, which, *inter alia*, noted with deep concern "the continued deterioration of the situation in South-West Africa resulting from the intensification of the practice of *apartheid* and from the determination of the South African Government to apply in the territory the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission" in violation of the U.N. Charter, the Colonialism Declaration, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The draft resolution stated that South Africa had persistently failed to discharge its international obligations in its administration of South-West Africa and that by pursuing the policy of *apartheid* had forfeited its moral authority to administer the territory. Considering that South Africa's behavior constituted both a serious challenge to the United Nations and a continuing threat to international peace and security, the draft resolution requested all states to give the African population of South-West Africa "the necessary moral and material support to enable them to accede to national independence and to exercise fully their sovereignty over their country's natural resources." South Africa was requested to "withdraw forthwith all the bases and other military installations situated in the Territory; and to refrain from using the Territory in any way whatever as a base for the concentration of arms or armed forces for internal and external purposes." The draft resolution recommended that the General Assembly and the Security Council in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity take the necessary concrete measures to safeguard the integrity

of the Territory and the sovereignty of its people. The Secretary-General was asked to inform the General Assembly and the Committee of 24 of those steps taken by states to carry out operative paragraph 7 of the General Assembly's resolution of November 13, 1963, on South-West Africa. That paragraph urged all states to refrain from supplying arms or military equipment or petroleum in any form to South Africa and also to refrain from any action that might hamper the implementation of the resolutions on South-West Africa.

In explaining that the United States would abstain in the vote on the draft resolution, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Philip E. Bonsal, stated that the United States had repeatedly expressed its strongly held view that South Africa had not lived up to its obligations to the people of South-West Africa and was therefore derelict in its obligations to the international community. The United States did not believe, however, that the General Assembly or any of its organs should make any determinations, as the draft resolution seemed to make, on the very question that the International Court of Justice had been asked to decide: i.e., the question of South Africa's performance under the terms of the mandate. The United States, he said, was following with interest the International Court's consideration of this question and wished to emphasize the importance the United States attached to U.N. members respecting the judgments of the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. Article 94 of the Charter, he said, provides that each member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party. The United States expected, therefore, that the decision of the Court would be complied with.

The resolution was adopted by the Special Committee on June 17, 1965, by a vote of 20 to 0, with 3 (Australia, U.K., U.S.) abstentions.

On August 16, the Secretary-General, as requested in the Committee of 24's resolution, asked states to inform him of measures they had taken to comply with paragraph 7 of the General Assembly's resolution of November 13, 1963. On October 11 in reply to the Secretary-General's note, the United States recalled that the U.S. Representative had announced in the Security Council on August 2, 1963, that the United States would discontinue the sale of arms and military equipment to South Africa. With reference to the resolution's request that an embargo be put on the sale of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa, the United States recalled that this provision was one of the reasons the United States had voted against the resolution, since it considered that the situation in South-

West Africa did not justify the use of such measures under the terms of the U.N. Charter. The United States would, of course, its reply stated in conclusion, continue to refrain from any action that might hamper the implementation of resolutions on South-West Africa insofar as their provisions were within the competence of the General Assembly.

### *General Assembly Consideration*

During the 20th General Assembly, the Fourth Committee considered South-West Africa from November 22 to 29 and on December 6 and 9, 1965. The Committee considered jointly the reports of the Committee of 24 and the reports of the Secretary-General on special education and training programs for South-West Africa (see page 325). It also considered the Committee of 24's 1964 report on the implications for South-West Africa of the activities of the mining industry and other international companies having interests there, and heard several petitioners from South-West Africa.

In the general debate, the U.S. views on the situation in South-West Africa were given by Congressman Barratt O'Hara. He recalled statements made by the U.S. Representative in the General Assembly in 1960 that the South African Government's racial policy had no place in a modern world "where tensions are likely to give rise to a general controversy and where all people demand the freedom to which they are entitled." The United States had voted for a strong resolution at the 16th General Assembly, had urged general elections in South-West Africa on the basis of universal adult suffrage, and had urged South Africa to repeal all repressive laws. The United States position, he said, had not changed: "The nation that was first to break the bonds of colonialism will be the last to accept with complacency any social, political or economic order that leaves the majority of the people in any land to the whim or design or the will and pleasure of a minority riding herd on the majority." The U.S. Representative stated that it was because South Africa had refused to cooperate with the United Nations, and had extended its inhuman policies to South-West Africa in violation of the mandate, that the United Nations found it necessary to continue to discuss South-West Africa, and that the United Nations and the world awaited the findings of the International Court of Justice on South Africa's administration of the Territory. The U.S. Representative reiterated what had previously been stated in the Committee of 24 with regard to respect for the Court's judgment and the obligation of all U.N. members to comply with its decisions.



The United States, its representative declared, regretted that on an issue so plainly involving a moral and political wrong by South Africa against the majority of the people of South-West Africa, there had been some departure from the issue at hand. The conclusions and recommendations of the Committee of 24's 1964 report on the activities of the mining industry and other international companies having interests in South-West Africa, the U.S. Representative stated, constituted an "unconstructive and undisguised" propaganda attack on the United States and the United Kingdom. The United States considered that the report neither enhanced the prestige of the United Nations nor promoted the progress of the people of South-West Africa. The United States categorically rejected the report's allegations that the United States and the United Kingdom supported the Government of South Africa.

Advancement of the cause and well-being of the people of South-West Africa, the U.S. Representative concluded, remained a heavy responsibility of the international community and a major concern of the United States. While looking to the International Court of Justice for a definitive decision on the legal considerations involved in the South-West Africa question, the United States would continue to provide educational assistance to South-West Africans and to support the U.N. Special Training Program for South-West Africa. "On our own and in concert with others," he said, the United States is prepared to exert its "best efforts within the terms of the Charter to bring closer the day when international responsibility for South-West Africa has been fulfilled and the people of that territory have exercised the right of self-determination."

On December 9 a draft resolution sponsored by 37 Afro-Asian nations, Cyprus, and Yugoslavia was introduced by the Representative of Somalia. The resolution noted with deep concern the serious threat to international peace and security in southern Africa which had been aggravated by the racist rebellion in Southern Rhodesia; approved and endorsed the reports of the Committee of 24; condemned the *apartheid* policy practiced by South Africa in South-West Africa as a crime against humanity; reaffirmed the right of the people of South-West Africa to freedom and independence; considered that partition or annexation would be an act of aggression and a violation of the mandate; called upon South Africa to remove all military installations from South-West Africa and to refrain from utilizing the Territory militarily for any purpose; condemned financial interests that mercilessly exploited South-West Africa; condemned South Africa for large-scale immigration into South-West Africa; condemned South Africa for refusing to cooperate with the United Nations; requested all states to implement the paragraph of

the General Assembly's resolution of November 13, 1963, which called for an embargo on arms, military equipment, petroleum, and petroleum products to South Africa; and requested the Security Council to keep watch over the critical situation prevailing in South-West Africa.

A number of paragraph votes were requested before the resolution was voted upon as a whole. The paragraph noting a serious threat to international peace and security aggravated by the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia was adopted by a vote of 77 to 9 (Australia, Canada, France, Italy, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, U.K., U.S.), with 11 (Austria, Belgium, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, Finland, Ireland, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Spain) abstentions.

The Committee endorsed the conclusions and recommendations contained in the Committee of 24's report on the activities of mining interests and other international companies in South-West Africa by a vote of 63 to 10 (Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Ireland, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, U.K., U.S.), with 24 (Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela) abstentions.

The paragraph considering that any attempt to partition the Territory or to take any preparatory unilateral action thereto, either directly or indirectly, constituted a violation of both the mandate and the Colonialism Declaration was adopted by a vote of 86 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 8 (Austria, Belgium, France, Netherlands, Spain, Turkey, U.K., U.S.) abstentions.

The paragraph which considered any attempt by South Africa to annex part or all of South-West Africa as an act of aggression was adopted by a vote of 80 to 3 (Portugal, South Africa, U.S.), with 15 (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, El Salvador, France, Guatemala, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain, Sweden, U.K.) abstentions.

The paragraph calling upon South Africa to remove immediately all bases and other military installations located in South-West Africa and to refrain from utilizing the Territory in any way as a military base for internal and external purposes was adopted by a vote of 87 (U.S.) to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 9 (Australia, Austria, Belgium, El Salvador, France, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, and U.K.) abstentions.

The paragraph condemning "the policies of financial interests operating in South-West Africa, which mercilessly exploit human and material resources and impede the progress of the Territory and the right of the people to freedom and independence," was adopted by a

vote of 64 to 10 (Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Ireland, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, U.K., U.S.), with 25 (Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Peru, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Venezuela) abstentions.

The paragraph which called upon member states to implement immediately the General Assembly's 1963 call upon states to impose a petroleum embargo was adopted by a vote of 76 to 5 (Belgium, France, Portugal, South Africa, U.S.), with 18 (Australia, Austria, Canada, China, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Spain, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Sweden, Turkey, U.K.) abstentions.

Finally, the resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 83 to 2, with 15 (U.S.) abstentions.

That same day the Fourth Committee adopted without objection a draft resolution directing the attention of South-West African petitioners to the various reports and resolutions on the subject, and a draft resolution concerning special educational and training programs for South-West Africa (see page 325).

The three draft resolutions concerning South-West Africa were considered by the General Assembly on December 17. The Liberian Representative proposed that the draft resolution on the general question of South-West Africa be adopted by a simple majority vote, rather than by the two-thirds vote required by article 18(2) of the Charter and the special rules of procedure concerning Assembly action on South-West Africa adopted by the ninth General Assembly. After considerable discussion, including an intervention by the United States in support of requiring a two-thirds vote, the Liberian Representative withdrew the proposal. A proposal was then made for separate paragraph votes. The Assembly rejected this proposal by a vote of 34 (U.S.) to 64, with 7 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 85 to 2, with 19 (U.S.) abstentions.

The draft resolutions on petitions and on special education and training programs for South-West Africa were adopted by the Assembly without objection.

## SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMS

### *Trust Territories*

Under the special U.N. scholarship program for students from trust territories which was established by the General Assembly in



1952, the U.N. Secretary-General submits an annual report to the Trusteeship Council on the scholarships available and the extent to which they are utilized. In his report of May 27, 1965, the Secretary-General noted that 12 member states had scholarships currently available. However, during the period covered by the report—May 20, 1964, to May 20, 1965—no applications had been received from inhabitants of the three remaining trust territories, Nauru, New Guinea, and the Pacific Islands.

At the 32d session of the Trusteeship Council, May 28 to June 30, 1965, the Representatives of the U.S.S.R. and Liberia observed that during the 14 years the program had been in effect no application had been received from inhabitants of any of the three remaining trust territories. The U.S. Representative, Dwight Dickinson, rejected the implication that this was due to policies of the Administering Authorities. He pointed out that the United States favored the provision of scholarships and training facilities by member states and had disseminated information on the U.N. program in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. On the other hand, the United States had found, he said, that it was itself able to meet the Territory's needs in higher education as demonstrated by the award of 108 full government scholarships to Micronesians for study abroad during the previous year. The United States would continue, he stated, to make known the opportunities available under the U.N. program.

The other Administering Powers indicated that they too were able to meet the educational needs in the trust territories without recourse to these scholarships.

### *Non-Self-Governing Territories*

Since 1954 the General Assembly has invited member states to provide scholarships and other opportunities for specialized training to the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories. The Secretary-General reports regularly to the General Assembly on the number of such scholarships awarded each year.

On August 20, 1965, the United States informed the Secretary-General that 195 new grants had been made under educational and cultural programs of the U.S. Government during the 1964-65 academic year. As an indication of the many additional scholarship opportunities made available by nongovernmental organizations, the U.S. report noted that during the 1964-65 academic year 4,786 students from non-self-governing territories were in institutions of higher learning in the United States.

On September 24 the General Assembly placed the reports of the Secretary-General on scholarships for non-self-governing territories

on its agenda and allocated them to the Fourth Committee (Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories) for consideration. The Fourth Committee adopted without objection on December 18 a draft resolution, sponsored by Algeria, Ethiopia, India, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Togo, and the United States, which noted the Secretary-General's reports and urged members to continue their scholarship programs, including provision for travel costs. This draft resolution was adopted by the General Assembly without objection on December 21.

### *South-West Africa*

In 1961 the General Assembly established a special educational and training program for the inhabitants of South-West Africa. Subsequently the General Assembly invited member states to consider providing in their offers opportunities for secondary education and vocational and technical training. In a note of August 12, 1965, the United States informed the U.N. Secretary-General that in addition to continuing the grants previously awarded, the U.S. Government had made 15 new grants for the 1964-65 academic year available to students from South-West Africa. All of the recipients of these grants were currently studying in the United States, seven of them at the university level and eight at the high school level. Altogether, under U.S. Government programs, 34 students from South-West Africa were pursuing their studies in the United States on scholarships which could be renewed until the grantee had achieved his first university degree.

The General Assembly included the reports of the Secretary-General on special educational and training programs for South-West Africa on its agenda and allocated consideration of these reports to the Fourth Committee on September 24. A draft resolution, sponsored by 35 African and Asian members, was adopted without objection by the Fourth Committee on December 9, and by the General Assembly on December 17, 1965. This resolution expressed the General Assembly's appreciation to member states offering scholarships to South-West Africans and invited states to increase their efforts; requested all member states, and in particular South Africa, to facilitate the travel of South-West Africans seeking to avail themselves of these scholarships; called upon South Africa to cooperate with the Secretary-General in implementing the present resolution; and requested the Secretary-General to disseminate scholarship information in South-West Africa and elsewhere.

*Portuguese Territories*

The General Assembly established a special training program in 1962 for the indigenous inhabitants of the territories under Portuguese administration. In its report of August 20 on scholarships made available to inhabitants of non-self-governing territories, the United States informed the Secretary-General that 19 students from Angola and 23 from Mozambique had been awarded new grants. The total number of students studying in the United States was 103—56 from Angola and 47 from Mozambique.

The reports of the Secretary-General on this special training program were included on the General Assembly's agenda and referred for consideration to the Fourth Committee. The Committee considered these reports at six meetings in December 1965 in conjunction with the chapters of the Committee of 24 reports that dealt with the Portuguese territories. A draft resolution sponsored by 33 African and Asian states noted that, despite previous resolutions inviting it to do so, the Portuguese Government had not cooperated in the implementation of the special training program; requested the Secretary-General to take all appropriate measures to make the benefits of the program available to as many indigenous inhabitants of the Portuguese territories as possible; and invited member states to continue their programs and to consider offering scholarships for secondary education and vocational and technical training. Prior to the vote the Portuguese Representative objected to the draft resolution. Since the resolution sought to establish scholarships for Portuguese nationals independent of the efforts of the Portuguese Government to increase educational facilities, he said, the resolution was undoubtedly politically motivated and in opposition to the interests of Portugal. The draft resolution was adopted in committee on December 18 by a vote of 90 (U.S.) to 1 (Portugal), with 3 (France, South Africa, Spain) abstentions.

On December 21, 1965, the General Assembly approved the Committee's text by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 1 (Portugal), with 3 (France, South Africa, Spain) abstentions.



## *Legal and Constitutional Developments*

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Legal and constitutional questions are relevant to a significant part of the work of the United Nations. These questions are discussed in other parts of this report in connection with the underlying issues to which they relate. However, because of their essentially legal character, part IV deals separately with the activities of the International Court of Justice, the International Law Commission, and subsidiary organs constituted at the instance of the U.N. General Assembly's Sixth (Legal) Committee.

### INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

During 1965 two additional countries—Nigeria and Kenya—accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, bringing to 41 the number of states accepting the Court's compulsory jurisdiction.

Orders were made on June 11, 1965, in the Case Concerning the Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Company, Ltd., and on November 29, 1965, in the South-West Africa Cases. At the end of the year these cases were the only ones still pending before the Court.

#### *Case Concerning the Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Co., Ltd. (Belgium v. Spain)*

On September 15, 1958, Belgium instituted proceedings against Spain in the International Court of Justice on behalf of Belgian nationals who were shareholders in the Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Co., Ltd., a Canadian corporation. The Belgian Government alleged that the conduct of Spanish authorities, by virtue of which the Company was declared bankrupt and its property liquidated, was contrary to international law, that Spain was respon-

sible for the damage which had resulted, and that Spain was obligated to restore the property rights and interests of the Company as they existed prior to its adjudication in bankruptcy or to pay Belgium compensation. In May 1960 Spain filed objections to the jurisdiction of the Court. However, before the Belgian observations on the objections were submitted, representatives of the private Belgian and Spanish interests decided to enter into negotiations for a settlement. Belgium informed the Court on March 23, 1961, that, in accordance with its right under article 69 of the Rules of the Court, it was not going on with the proceeding. Subsequently, Spain informed the Court that it had no objection to the discontinuance. On April 10, 1961, the Court made an Order under the terms of article 69, paragraph 2, and removed the case from its list.

In due course discussions took place between representatives of private interests in the Company, but no agreement was reached. Thereafter, on June 19, 1962, Belgium instituted new proceedings against Spain before the Court. Spain raised certain Preliminary Objections to the jurisdiction of the Court, and the proceedings on the merits were suspended by the Court on March 16, 1963.

Spain's four Preliminary Objections to the competence of the Court or the admissibility of the claim were, in brief: (1) that the discontinuance of the previous proceedings relative to the same events in Spain disentitled Belgium from bringing the present proceedings; (2) that, even if this were not the case, the Court would not be competent because the necessary jurisdictional basis requiring Spain to submit to the jurisdiction of the Court did not exist; (3) that even if the Court were competent, the claim would be inadmissible because Belgium lacked any standing in law to make a claim on behalf of Belgian interests in a Canadian company, assuming that the Belgian character of such interests were established; and (4) that even if Belgium had the necessary standing in law, the claim remained inadmissible because local remedies with regard to the alleged damage had not been exhausted.

On July 24, 1964, the Court rejected Spain's first and second Preliminary Objections and joined the third and fourth Preliminary Objections to the merits. By subsequent Order dated July 28, 1964, the Court fixed July 1, 1965, as the time limit for filing of the Spanish counter-memorial. In its Order of June 11, 1965, the Court extended this time limit to December 31, 1965. The counter-memorial was filed on December 20, 1965.

### *South-West Africa Cases* (Ethiopia *v.* South Africa; Liberia *v.* South Africa)

On November 4, 1960, Ethiopia and Liberia instituted independent proceedings, subsequently joined by the Court, against the then Union of South Africa. These proceedings concerned the question of South Africa's administration of the mandated territory of South-West Africa and alleged noncompliance with its international legal obligations under the 1920 Mandate for South-West Africa, the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the U.N. Charter.

In response South Africa filed preliminary objections to the jurisdiction of the Court, and the proceedings on the merits were suspended. On December 21, 1962, the Court rejected South Africa's preliminary objections and upheld its jurisdiction by an 8-7 majority. During 1964 the Court received the counter-memorial of South Africa, the Reply of Ethiopia and Liberia, and the Rejoinder of South Africa.

The Court heard the final oral arguments of the parties on November 15, 1965, and will hand down its decision during 1966.

By an order of November 29, 1965, the Court decided not to accede to South Africa's request that it make an on-the-spot inspection of, and compare conditions in, South-West Africa (by vote of 8-6), the Republic of South Africa (8-6), Ethiopia and Liberia (9-5), and one or two sub-Saharan African countries of the Court's own choosing (9-5).

## INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

The International Law Commission, whose function is the progressive development and codification of international law, is composed of 25 experts (including Herbert W. Briggs of the United States) who serve in their individual capacities.

The Commission held the first part of its 17th session in Geneva from May 3 to July 9, 1965. A major part of that session was devoted to a consideration of the law of treaties, particularly the reexamination and revision of 29 draft articles which the Commission had prepared previously. These articles deal with the conclusion, entry into force, and registration of treaties.

The Commission continued its work (begun in 1958) on special missions. At its 17th session, in 1965, it considered the second report submitted by the Special Rapporteur on this topic, Milan Bartoš (Yugoslavia), and adopted 28 draft articles, which follow on



from the 16 draft articles adopted in 1964. The Commission decided to seek comments on these articles from governments. It requested that the General Assembly consider the 44 draft articles as a single document. The Commission expected to revise the articles in light of comments from governments and the views of the General Assembly. The Special Rapporteur prepared a separate draft on so-called "high level" special missions. The Commission did not discuss this draft, however, but decided instead to seek the opinion of governments on whether or not special rules of law should be drafted for such missions.

The Commission recommended to the General Assembly that arrangements should be made for the Commission to hold meetings during January 1966, such meetings to constitute the second part of its 17th session.

In its report to the General Assembly, the Commission stressed the importance that it attaches to cooperation with other bodies. It took note of the reports on meetings of the Inter-American Council of Jurists and the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee which were submitted by the members authorized to attend the meetings as observers on behalf of the Commission.

During the 17th session of the Commission, the European Office of the United Nations organized a Seminar on International Law for advanced students and young government officials responsible for dealing with questions of international law. The Commission reported that it found the Seminar a useful experience for all concerned and recommended that further seminars be organized in conjunction with its future sessions.

The Commission authorized Roberto Ago (Italy), Chairman of the Commission at its 16th session, and Milan Bartoš (Yugoslavia), Chairman at its 17th session, to be its representatives at the 20th session of the General Assembly in respect of the Commission's work in 1964 and 1965, respectively.

## GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

In 1965 at its 20th regular session the General Assembly referred various agenda items to its Sixth (Legal) Committee, including: (1) the reports of the International Law Commission on the work of its 16th and 17th sessions; (2) the question of general multilateral treaties concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations; (3) technical assistance to promote the teaching, study, dissemination, and wider appreciation of international law; (4) the principles

of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among states in accordance with the U.N. Charter; (5) steps to be taken for progressive development in the field of private international law with a particular view to promoting international trade; (6) the draft Declaration on the Right of Asylum; (7) observance by member states of the principles relating to sovereignty of states, their territorial integrity, noninterference in their domestic affairs, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and the condemnation of subversive activities; and (8) amendments to the Charter and to the rules of procedure of the General Assembly (see page 133).

### *Reports of the International Law Commission*

The Sixth Committee considered this agenda item from September 29 to October 15, 1965.

On the subject of the law of treaties satisfaction was expressed at the considerable progress achieved by the Commission, and general comments were offered on a number of issues, such as: the problem of "unjust, unfair or unequal treaties"; the need to provide protection against unilateral or arbitrary action by parties who might wish to avoid observing obligations that they had undertaken; and the desired form of a codification of law on this subject.

The Legal Committee's debate on Part III of the Commission's draft articles (consisting of 19 articles on the application, effects, modification, and interpretation of treaties) indicated a substantial measure of acceptance although there were a number of criticisms and differences of opinion concerning terminology, relevance, usefulness, and meaning of various provisions, the completeness of the draft articles, and the need for harmony between this Part and the other Parts of the draft articles. The U.S. Representative, former Attorney General William P. Rogers, expressed the preliminary views of the U.S. Government on Part III of the draft articles, reserving the Government's final position on all of the draft articles on this topic.

During the debate the possibility of convening in the near future a diplomatic conference of plenipotentiaries on the law of treaties was discussed, and suggestions were made concerning the preparation of such a conference. It was announced that the U.N. Secretariat would prepare for the General Assembly at its next session a study of the procedural and organizational problems involved in such a conference and, time permitting, a reference guide to the Commission's draft articles on the law of treaties.

Some representatives commented substantively on the chapters of the International Law Commission's reports relating to special

missions. Others, including the U.S. Representative, announced that their governments were studying the draft articles on this subject and would in due course submit written comments.

The debate reflected broad agreement regarding the Commission's program of work and the organization of future sessions and, more specifically, its desire to hold a winter session in 1966 and the possible extension of the 1966 summer session. There were some reservations expressed, however, about the administrative and financial problems involved. For example, the U.S. Representative opposed holding meetings of U.N. bodies away from established headquarters if it would result in additional expense to the Organization.

The Sixth Committee adopted by a vote of 74 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, a draft resolution submitted by Lebanon and Mexico (as modified by amendments offered by Ghana, Romania, and Tunisia), which (1) noted with approval the Commission's proposal for meeting in January 1966, and its request to reserve the possibility of an extension of its 1966 summer session; (2) recommended that the Commission should continue its work on the law of treaties and special missions, with the object of presenting final drafts on those topics in the report of the work of its 18th session in 1966, and that the Commission continue, when possible, its work on state responsibility, succession of states and governments, and relations between states and intergovernmental organizations; and (3) expressed the wish that future seminars, at which a reasonable number of nationals from the developing countries should participate, be organized in conjunction with sessions of the Commission. On December 8 the General Assembly, by a vote of 77 (U.S.) to 0, adopted without change the draft resolution submitted by its Sixth Committee.

### *General Multilateral Treaties Concluded Under the Auspices of the League of Nations*

In 1963 the 18th General Assembly adopted a resolution concerning a number of treaties of a technical and nonpolitical character which had been concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations. Under the terms of these treaties—21 in number—the Council of the League had been authorized to invite additional states to accede. The problem was that states which had not been invited to accede before the League ceased to exist were unable to become party to the treaties. The 1963 resolution decided that the General Assembly was the appropriate U.N. organ to reopen the treaties for accession, and requested the Secretary-General to bring the resolution to the attention of the parties to the treaties, to consult with them to determine



the current status and present applicability of the treaties, and to report to the 19th General Assembly. Operative paragraph 4 of the resolution requested the Secretary-General to invite to accede to the treaties "each State which is a Member of the United Nations or member of a specialized agency or a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice, or has been designated for this purpose by the General Assembly, and which otherwise is not eligible to become a party to the treaties in question. . . . "

Because of the special circumstances at the 19th General Assembly, the Secretary-General's report was not considered until the 20th session. In his report, the Secretary-General stated that there had been sufficient evidence that two of the treaties were still in force and of interest for accession by additional states to justify sending out invitations for accession to them immediately, which he had done. (They were the Convention for the Suppression of Counterfeiting Currency and the Optional Protocol to that Convention.) With respect to the remaining treaties, the Secretary-General listed nine which were of possible interest for accession and noted that some of the treaties might need adaptation to contemporary conditions. He recommended that the Assembly consider whether to invite additional states to become parties to treaties other than the two for which invitations had already been issued, and, if it decided to do so, to consider which of the various categories of treaties should be the subject of such invitations. In the course of debate in the Sixth Committee, a draft resolution was introduced by Sweden and Nigeria, later joined by Denmark, under which the General Assembly would recognize that the nine treaties which had been singled out by the Secretary-General "may be of interest for accession by additional States within the terms" of the Assembly's 1963 resolution. An amendment proposed by five African states and accepted by the sponsors added a paragraph calling attention to the "desirability of adapting some of these treaties to contemporary conditions, particularly in the event that new parties should so request."

Before this resolution came to the vote, Ghana and the Ukrainian S.S.R. proposed separate votes on three portions of the resolution. The effect of failure to adopt these portions would have been to delete all reference to the Assembly's 1963 resolution. This situation recalled the controversy which had taken place at the 18th Assembly in 1963 over the formula determining which political entities were entitled to receive invitations from the Secretary-General. The 1963 resolution had contained a compromise invitation formula in its paragraph 4 mentioned above. The deletions proposed in 1965 were designed, according to the sponsors, to give proponents of a formula entitling "all states" to an invitation an opportunity to express them-

selves anew on this issue. In the debate on these proposed deletions, the U.S. delegation recalled the reasons for its opposition to an "all states" formula. The United States pointed out that deletion of the references to the 1963 resolution would probably leave the Secretary-General without instructions on which entities should be invited to accede to the treaties, and thus might very well bring the accession process to a halt. The result of the efforts of the proponents of the "all states" formula would be, in effect, a "no states" formula.

The proposed deletions were defeated by votes of 67 (U.S.) to 10, with 11 abstentions; 65 (U.S.) to 9, with 14 abstentions; and 52 (U.S.) to 17, with 17 abstentions. The draft resolution as a whole—which the United States supported—was then adopted 69 to 0, with 17 abstentions by the Sixth Committee, and on November 5 by the General Assembly by 82 to 0, with 21 abstentions.

### *Technical Assistance To Promote the Teaching, Study, Dissemination, and Wider Appreciation of International Law*

The item on technical assistance to promote the teaching, study, dissemination, and wider appreciation of international law was first considered by the General Assembly at its 17th session in 1962. During its 18th session, in 1963, it established a six-nation Special Committee to draw up a practical plan and proposals, and, *inter alia*, invited member states and interested institutions or individuals to offer fellowships and make voluntary contributions to the U.N. program of technical assistance in this field. The report of the Special Committee (consisting of Afghanistan, Belgium, Ecuador, Ghana, Hungary, and Ireland) was considered by the General Assembly at its 20th session, and on December 20, 1965, the Assembly adopted by a vote of 75 (U.S.) to 2, with 11 abstentions, a resolution submitted by the Sixth (Legal) Committee on technical assistance in the field of international law. The resolution established a twofold program of assistance and exchange, consisting of (1) steps to encourage and coordinate existing programs, and (2) forms of direct assistance and exchange, such as seminars, training and refresher courses, fellowships, advisory services of experts, the provision of legal publications and libraries, and translations of major legal works.

The following specific programs for 1967 and 1968 were described in an Annex to the resolution as follows:

#### *Programme for 1967*

(a) A regional training and refresher course of four weeks' duration, which will be given in Africa and which will be the first of a series of such courses to be held every two years, in rotation, in Africa, Asia and Latin America;

(b) Award of ten fellowships at the request of Governments of developing countries;

(c) Advisory services of up to three experts, if requested by developing countries;

(d) Provision of a set of United Nations legal publications to up to fifteen institutions in developing countries;

(e) Preparation of a survey of certain of the principal examples of the codification and progressive development of international law within the framework of the United Nations.

*Programme for 1968*

(a) A regional seminar of three weeks' duration, which will be held in Latin America and which will be the first of a series of such seminars to be held every two years, in rotation, in Latin America, Africa and Asia;

(b) Award of fifteen fellowships at the request of Governments of developing countries;

(c) Advisory services of up to five experts, if requested by developing countries;

(d) Provision of a set of United Nations legal publications to up to twenty institutions in developing countries;

(e) Publication of a survey of certain of the principal examples of the codification and progressive development of international law within the framework of the United Nations.

The resolution authorized the Secretary-General to initiate in 1966 the preparatory work for these activities within the total level of appropriations approved for that year; to invite offers of voluntary contributions for financing the program; and to make provision for the program in the regular budget estimates for 1967 and 1968, after having taken into account the voluntary contributions that may have been received. The resolution further invited UNESCO to participate in the program and requested the Secretary-General to reach agreement with the Director General of that organization on financial and administrative details. In addition, the Assembly requested the Board of Trustees of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) to consider ways in which international law can be given its proper place among UNITAR's activities.

In its resolution, the General Assembly also decided to establish a 10-member Advisory Committee on Technical Assistance to Promote the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law, to be appointed every 3 years by the General Assembly, with the responsibility of advising the Secretary-General and reporting to the General Assembly. Representatives of UNESCO and UNITAR were to be invited, as necessary, to the Committee's meetings. The Assembly appointed the following member states to the Advisory Committee: Afghanistan, Belgium, Ecuador, France, Ghana, Hungary, Tanzania, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States.

On October 27, 1965, in his statement to the Sixth Committee, Congressman Barratt O'Hara, the U.S. Representative, reiterated



the U.S. conviction of the merit of a U.N. program of technical assistance in international law, enumerating many of the programs of training, education, and research in the field of international law being carried on in the United States in both the public and private sectors. He also announced that, in response to General Assembly resolutions and in view of the importance that it attaches to this subject, the United States planned to assist in the holding of a special international seminar for lawyers, particularly from the newer and developing countries. This seminar, planned in cooperation with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Law School of Harvard University, would be held at the Harvard Law School in August and September of 1966, under the supervision of various international legal scholars from the United States and abroad.

Throughout the consideration of this item at the 20th General Assembly, the United States made clear its opposition to that part of proposed resolutions providing for financing through the regular U.N. budget. The U.S. position did not prevail, however, and the resolution ultimately adopted by the Assembly envisaged financing through the regular budget to the extent that the expenses of the program were not met by voluntary contributions or other sources.

### *Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance With the Charter of the United Nations*

In 1962 the General Assembly decided to undertake a "study of the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among States," in discharge of its responsibility under article 13 of the U.N. Charter for "encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification."

A 27-member Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States was created in 1963 and met in Mexico City the following year. It considered four of the seven legal principles of friendly relations among states which the Assembly had listed in prior resolutions. These were:

(1) the principle that states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations; (2) the principle that states shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice are not endangered; (3) the duty not to intervene in matters within

the domestic jurisdiction of any state, in accordance with the Charter; and (4) the principle of the sovereign equality of states.

In Mexico City the Committee had tried to formulate texts stating the four principles which had been referred to it, but had been successful in reaching complete agreement on only one—the principle of sovereign equality of states. On the principles of refraining from the threat or use of force, peaceful settlement of disputes, and nonintervention, varying degrees of progress toward agreement had been made. On the first of these principles, a text had been formulated to which all members of the Committee except the United States had been willing to agree.

The Special Committee also considered the question of methods of factfinding in international relations, and submitted a full report to the 19th General Assembly in 1964.

This report was before the 20th General Assembly in 1965. In addition, the Assembly was to consider the three remaining principles, which had not yet been formally discussed. These were:

(5) the duty of states to cooperate with one another in accordance with the Charter; (6) the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; and (7) the principle that states shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.

In the debate in the Sixth Committee, most delegations, in commenting on the report of the Special Committee, reiterated views expressed on previous occasions on the substance of the first four principles. Most delegations also addressed themselves, in varying degrees of detail, to the substance of the three additional principles, which were to be considered more fully in a further session of the Special Committee. In the initial U.S. statement on this item, the U.S. Representative, former Attorney General William P. Rogers, recalled the reasons which had underlain the U.S. misgivings about the Special Committee's formulation on the threat or use of force—more particularly, on the paragraph dealing with threat or use of force across international boundaries. The United States had argued that the prohibition in that paragraph of the threat or use of force to "violate" a boundary was not legally precise and might be taken to extend to certain uses of force that were lawful under the Charter. The U.S. Representative stated that his government, after careful consideration, was now ready to join the other members of the Special Committee in accepting the text on this principle, making it clear, however, that in the U.S. view the lawful use of force to cross an international boundary was not a "violation" of it within the meaning of the paragraph in question. The U.S. Representative also suggested the desirability of making express mention in the text on the threat or use of force across certain international lines

of demarcation other than international boundaries, such as truce and armistice lines.

Much of the debate in the Sixth Committee was concerned with the question of the future of the Special Committee. It was generally acknowledged that the Committee had done a useful piece of work on all four of the principles before it, and it became apparent in the course of debate that most delegations thought that the Committee should continue. At the same time there was some dissatisfaction with its rate of progress toward the production of finished texts on the principles, and there were differences of view on whether the Committee ought to be enlarged; whether it should continue the practice of seeking "consensus" or general agreement (which had resulted in its failure at Mexico City to report out some proposals even though they could command the support of a majority); and whether it should examine all seven principles on an equal footing, or accord a special status to the texts which had commanded agreement or near agreement at Mexico City. There were also differing opinions on whether the Committee should be instructed specifically to draft a "declaration" on the principles for later adoption by the General Assembly.

The various views on these questions were in large part reflected in four draft resolutions tabled in the Sixth Committee. The United States, along with Australia, Canada, Denmark, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, sponsored a resolution which would have referred five of the seven principles to the Special Committee for further study and recommendation, texts having been formulated on the principles of sovereign equality and nonuse of force which had now gained acceptance among all members of the Special Committee. The U.S. delegation took the position that there was no need for enlargement of the Committee, which was perhaps already too large for optimum effectiveness in view of the nature of the task it was to undertake. The United States also believed that if the work on this item was to progress it would be necessary at each stage to conserve and build on the accomplishments of the previous stage, and therefore it did not favor referring all seven principles back to the Special Committee. On the question of seeking "consensus" or general agreement on the texts to be formulated, the United States thought it clear that texts purporting to be authoritative interpretations of principles of international law would be of value only if accepted unanimously or nearly so among the membership of the United Nations. The question was not one of formally barring the Special Committee—even less the Sixth Committee or the General Assembly itself—from voting, but rather one of the value of the end product of the work on the item at hand. On whether to instruct the Special Committee to draft a declaration, the United States thought that this



question would be best considered after it had become apparent that the work of the Special Committee had produced texts on the seven principles worthy of being incorporated into a declaration.

Another draft resolution, submitted by Czechoslovakia, would have created a new Special Committee instructed to consider and draft a declaration on all seven principles. A resolution sponsored by 39 African and Asian states, along with Cuba and Yugoslavia, would have created a new special committee, "having regard to . . . the need to ensure that the principal legal systems and main forms of civilization in the world are represented and taking into account the new trends in the international community resulting from the accession to independence of several countries." The committee would consider all seven principles with a view to producing a draft declaration.

Finally, a resolution sponsored by 10 Latin American states would have continued the present Special Committee to study and submit its recommendations on the seven principles.

Eventually a small working group was appointed from among the sponsors of the draft resolutions, to try to draft a compromise resolution which would be acceptable to all. Its efforts were successful. The resolution ultimately adopted without vote by the Sixth Committee and later without objection by the General Assembly "reconstituted" the Special Committee, with a membership enlarged by the addition of four African and Asian members and one Latin American member. The resolution requested the Committee to continue consideration of all seven principles, having full regard—with respect to the four which had been considered at the Mexico City meeting—to "matters on which the previous Special Committee was unable to reach agreement and to the measure of progress achieved on particular matters." The resolution addressed the "consensus" and declaration issues in the following preambular paragraph:

Being convinced of the significance of continuing the effort to achieve general agreement at every stage of the process of the elaboration of the seven principles . . . without prejudice to the applicability of the rules of procedure of the Assembly, and with a view to the early adoption of a declaration which would constitute a landmark in the progressive development and codification of these principles.

The Sixth Committee considered two other closely related items simultaneously with its consideration of the item on principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among states. The first was an item proposed for the agenda by the Malagasy Republic, entitled "Observance by Member States of the principles relating to the sovereignty of States, their territorial integrity, non-interference in their domestic affairs, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the condemnation of subversive activities."

The second was the item sponsored by the Netherlands on the question of methods of factfinding in international relations, which had been considered previously by the Special Committee. The resolution on principles of international law concerning friendly relations contained a separate part dealing with the first of these two items, which requested the Special Committee to take into consideration the item introduced by the Malagasy Republic in the course of its work and in drafting its report. On the question of methods of factfinding, a separate resolution, adopted 80 to 0, with 12 abstentions, requested the Secretary-General to supplement his earlier study on this subject so as to deal with the subject of "international inquiry," insofar as this method of factfinding is "envisaged in some treaties as a means of ensuring their execution."

### *Consideration of Steps To Be Taken for Progressive Development of Private International Law*

On September 8, 1964, Hungary had requested that the General Assembly consider "steps to be taken for progressive development in the field of private international law with a particular view to promoting international trade." The 19th session of the General Assembly did not take up this item, and thereafter Hungary asked that the 20th session do so.

At its 20th session, the General Assembly referred the matter to its Sixth (Legal) Committee on September 28, 1965. The Sixth Committee, on December 13, 1965, unanimously adopted and sent to the General Assembly a draft resolution sponsored by Hungary and 14 other members that requested the Secretary-General to make a comprehensive report which would (1) survey the work being done in the field of unification and harmonization of the law of international trade; (2) analyze the methods and approaches suitable for the unification and harmonization of the various topics within this field; and (3) consider whether U.N. organs and other agencies might be given responsibility for furthering cooperation in the development, unification, and harmonization of the law of international trade. It also included in the provisional agenda of the 21st session an item entitled "Progressive development of the law of international trade."

During the Sixth Committee's deliberation, the U.S. Representative expressed the view of the United States that, while the United Nations may play a useful role in the unification and harmonization of the law of international trade, the work it might undertake in this technically specialized field might duplicate the activities of other bodies. The

United States hoped that the Secretary-General's report would shed light on this question and enable the General Assembly to decide it with full knowledge of the facts.

The General Assembly unanimously adopted the draft resolution, without change, on December 20, 1965.

### *Draft Declaration on the Right of Asylum*

The "Draft Declaration on the Right of Asylum" as prepared by the Commission on Human Rights in 1960 was transmitted to the General Assembly by the Economic and Social Council later that year but the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) did not begin its consideration until 1962, when it approved a preamble and article 1.

The preamble of the draft Declaration refers, among other things, to article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which declares that everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution, provided that this right "may not be invoked in the case of prosecution genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations." Article 1 of the Declaration provides that, if a state grants territorial asylum to persons entitled to invoke the terms of article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, such a grant shall be respected by all other states.

In 1965 it was noted that the heavy workload of the Third Committee was delaying further consideration of the draft Declaration and that the item raised serious legal questions. Accordingly, on September 24, 1965, the General Assembly allocated the item to the Sixth (Legal) Committee. On December 20 the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution referred to it by the Sixth Committee that requested the Secretary-General to invite those member states which had not yet done so to submit their comments on the draft Declaration before the Assembly's 21st session, and decided to take up the draft Declaration as soon as possible at its 21st session, "with a view to completing the text of the draft Declaration as a whole."



## *Budgetary, Financial, and Administrative Matters*

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### UNITED NATIONS BUDGET

The 19th General Assembly was unable to approve a budget because of the controversy over the applicability of article 19 (see page 102). During 1965, therefore, the United Nations operated under interim financial arrangements adopted by the Assembly on February 18, 1965. The 20th General Assembly subsequently approved on December 21, 1965, regular budgets of \$108,472,800 for 1965 and \$121,567,420 for 1966. After deducting credits due for bond repayments and interest, the U.S. share of these two budgets was \$28,045,463 and \$32,792,910.

The 1965 budget exceeded the 1964 expenditures by \$5,523,823. The increase was due primarily to mandatory salary increases authorized under the U.N. staff rules and regulations, mandatory rate and wage increases for contractual services, increased payments on U.N. bonds, additional travel and subsistence costs, and requirements of an unforeseen and extraordinary nature (such as the U.N. Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan).

The 1966 budget request, approved December 21, was \$13,094,620 higher than the 1965 budget. It included the first general increase in the base salary for professional and higher categories of staff since 1962; a total of 469 new positions, primarily for programs in the economic and social fields (particularly in industrial development and in connection with the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development); mandatory raises in salary; and an increase in payments of principal and interest on U.N. bonds.

The General Assembly took important action on two matters having appreciable budgetary implications. First, on December 21 it adopted without objection a resolution designed to control the number of conferences and meetings. The resolution provided that (1) with a few specified exceptions, meetings of U.N. bodies shall be held at their established headquarters unless the additional cost

of holding them elsewhere is paid by the host governments; and (2) not more than one major special conference shall be scheduled in any one year. It was hoped that conference and meeting costs would be held down by these actions.

The second matter was the decision to request the Secretary-General to restrict his 1967 staff estimates to the number of positions approved for 1966. The U.S. delegation played an important part in the initiation and adoption of this recommendation.

## AD HOC COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS (Committee of 14)

On December 13, 1965, by vote of 104 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, the 20th General Assembly approved a resolution introduced by France which established a Committee of 14 members (1) to examine the financial situation of the United Nations as of September 30, 1965, based on an analysis to be prepared by the Secretary-General; (2) to examine the entire range of budgetary problems of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies; and (3) to make appropriate recommendations to the Assembly at its 21st session on ways to secure better utilization of available funds and to insure that any expansion of U.N. activities takes into account both the needs they are intended to meet and the costs member states will have to bear as a result.

On December 21 the President of the General Assembly named Argentina, Brazil, Canada, France, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Nigeria, Senegal, U.S.S.R., United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, and the United States to the Committee of 14.

In making its study, the Committee was to receive the assistance of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, the Secretary-General, and the executive heads of the Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency. The Secretary-General was to prepare the financial statement for the Committee of 14 by early 1966, and the Committee's report on the U.N. financial situation was expected by March 31, 1966.

## SPECIALIZED AGENCIES BUDGETS

The 1966 assessment budgets for all the Specialized Agencies will total about \$127 million, an increase of \$14 million over 1965. The salary raise for U.N. professional staff which was recommended by

the International Civil Service Advisory Board at its 13th session in May 1965, and approved by the General Assembly on December 13, was made applicable to the staff of the Specialized Agencies as of January 1, 1966. This accounts for about \$4 million of the increase; the remaining \$10 million is for program expansion, primarily in the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the International Labor Organization (ILO).

The \$6.1 million increase in the FAO budget includes nearly \$0.9 million for the pay raise and about \$5.1 million to strengthen FAO's program in the fields of fisheries, forestry, commodities, and rural institutions.

Of the \$4.1 million increase in the WHO budget, about \$1.7 million is for the professional salaries item, and \$2.4 million is for medical research, the training of public health personnel, advisory services to governments, campaigns against communicable diseases and the improvement of sanitary conditions.

Of the \$1.7 million increase in the ILO budget, \$600,000 is for the professional salaries item, and \$1.1 million to strengthen ILO's administration of its field activities and to expand certain operating programs.

Budget increases of less than \$1 million each have been approved for the International Civil Aviation Organization, the International Telecommunication Union, the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization, and the World Meteorological Organization. The budgets of the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the Universal Postal Union will remain at the same level in 1966 as in 1965.

The assessments (rounded to the nearest thousand dollars) upon member governments for carrying out the activities of the Specialized Agencies during 1965 and 1966 are shown in the following table:

<i>Specialized Agency</i>	<i>1965</i>	<i>1966</i>
Food and Agriculture Organization . . . . .	\$17,765,000	\$23,830,000
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization . . . . .	822,000	919,000
International Civil Aviation Organization . . . . .	5,087,000	6,048,000
International Labor Organization . . . . .	18,684,000	20,338,000
International Telecommunication Union . . . . .	4,279,000	4,995,000
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization . . . . .	23,988,000	23,988,000
Universal Postal Union . . . . .	1,030,000	1,030,000
World Health Organization . . . . .	39,396,000	43,521,000
World Meteorological Organization . . . . .	1,766,000	2,167,000
Total . . . . .	112,817,000	126,836,000



## ASSESSMENTS (United Nations and Specialized Agencies)

The U.S.-percentage shares of the assessment budgets of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies are listed below:

	1965 Percent	1966 Percent
United Nations . . . . .	31.91	31.91
Food and Agriculture Organization . . . . .	32.02	31.91
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization . . . . .	13.78	14.81
International Civil Aviation Organization . . . . .	31.80	31.28
International Labor Organization . . . . .	25.00	25.00
International Telecommunication Union . . . . .	9.99	10.00
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization . . . . .	30.00	30.00
Universal Postal Union . . . . .	4.30	4.30
World Health Organization . . . . .	31.29	31.20
World Meteorological Organization . . . . .	23.99	23.99

## UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

### *United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF)*

On December 21, 1965, after considerable debate that reflected the growing desire of many U.N. members to be relieved of the financial burden of this peacekeeping operation, the General Assembly appropriated \$18,911,000 for UNEF expenditures in 1965 and \$15 million for UNEF expenditures in 1966.

The General Assembly adopted the UNEF financing resolution 44 to 14, with 45 (U.S.) abstentions.

The U.S. Representative, Congressman Peter Frelinghuysen, explained that one element in the resolution precluded an affirmative United States vote—the provision for apportionment of the expenses of UNEF which could result in a U.S. commitment to contribute in excess of the legislative limit of one-third of the total cost. Mr. Frelinghuysen noted that only the U.S. Congress can appropriate funds and that the U.S. delegation could not make a commitment on its behalf, but made it clear that an appropriation would be requested from the Congress if the resolution were adopted.

The resolution contained, the U.S. Representative said, "the most significant and essential element of past UNEF financing resolutions, namely, the recognition that the costs of an operation such as UNEF should be shared by all member states." He added that "this reliance on the principle of collective financial responsibility rather than on contributions by only a part of the membership should be welcomed by all member states as evidence of a determination to continue this Organization as an effective instrument to keep the peace."

The resolution applied to the 1965 appropriation \$3,911,000 of the special funds contributed by nations to help restore the solvency of the United Nations (see page 110). The remaining UNEF costs were apportioned among member states in the same manner for both 1965 and 1966. \$14,200,000 was apportioned among the developed countries and \$800,000 among the developing countries, both on the basis of the regular U.N. scale of assessments. The developed countries were apportioned an additional amount, in order to meet reserve requirements calculated at 25 percent of the amount already apportioned. This amount totaled \$3,550,000, making the total UNEF apportionment for each year \$18,550,000.

The U.S. share of the amount apportioned under the UNEF resolution was \$6,837,306 (36.9 percent) in both 1965 and 1966.

### *United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)*

The U.N. peacekeeping force in Cyprus was established by the Security Council in March 1964 "to prevent a recurrence of fighting" and "to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order" (see page 42).

The costs of UNFICYP are met by the Government of Cyprus, by the governments providing troop contingents, and by voluntary contributions. The Secretary-General's cost estimates for the 21 months ending December 24, 1965 totaled \$39,725,000. Voluntary pledges to UNFICYP for the same period were \$38,310,541, leaving a deficit of \$1,414,459 in pledges at that date. Efforts are being made to reduce this deficit during 1966 through reductions in the cost of the force as well as additional pledges of financial support.

In 1965 the United States pledged \$9.5 million to UNFICYP, bringing the total U.S. pledge for the 21 months to \$16.1 million. The United States also provided \$128,000 worth of air transport for the rotation of troops and equipment during 1965, bringing the 21-month total value of that contribution to \$1,254,107.

## VOLUNTARY PROGRAMS

A number of major U.N. programs are financed by voluntary contributions from member states rather than by regular assessments on all the members. The substantive aspects of the voluntary programs listed below are discussed in Parts I and II of this report. The amount and percentage limitation on U.S. contributions for calendar year 1965 is as follows:

	<i>Million</i>	<i>Per- cent</i>
Expanded Program of Technical Assistance and U.N. Special Fund.....	\$60. 0	40
United Nations Children's Fund.....	12. 0	40
United Nations Economic Assistance to the Congo.....	5. 0	31
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.....	. 6	33
United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.....	<sup>1</sup> 23. 2	70

Includes cash and surplus agricultural commodities.

The United Nations, in cooperation with the Specialized Agencies, has been conducting a nation-building program of technical assistance in the Congo. Until the end of 1962, the program was financed entirely by voluntary contributions to the United Nations Fund for the Congo. Since 1963 some of the costs have been financed by the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, the regular program of the United Nations, some of the Specialized Agencies, and the Special Fund. A major part of this program still remains outside the scope of customary U.N. sources of financing. A number of projects are being supported by a project agreement with the United States, and others are financed from voluntary contributions to the Congo Fund. Moreover, the Congolese Government itself has furnished a considerable part of the financial requirements, in both foreign exchange and local currency costs. In 1965 the technical and operational assistance sponsored by the United Nations in the Congo amounted to \$15,993,000. As shown in the table above, the United States contributed \$5 million, including \$4 million designated for certain essential projects in the field of civil aviation, meteorology, telecommunications, public finance, economic analysis and coordination, mining and natural resources, public works, and police training.

From the time the Congo gained its independence in July 1960 until June 1965, U.S. economic aid to the Congo, both bilateral and through the United Nations, has amounted to \$278 million, and represented about 54 percent of the total assistance provided.



## PERSONNEL MATTERS—AMERICANS IN THE UNITED NATIONS

From the start, Americans played an important part in the international secretariats of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. Many of these men have now left the scene; others are still active, for example, Ralph Bunche (Under Secretary for Special Political Affairs), Paul Hoffman (Administrator, United Nations Development Program), David Vaughan (Director of General Services), and David Morse (Director General of the International Labor Organization). During 1965 Henry Labrousse was appointed Executive Director of the United Nations Children's Fund, and Gerald Gross completed his term of office as Secretary General of the International Telecommunication Union.

The United Nations and all the Specialized Agencies follow the same general employment principles: to secure the best qualified persons available, and to recruit on as wide a geographical basis as possible. The problem of the "geographical distribution" of professional staff has been given formal recognition in the U.N. Secretariat through a system of "desirable ranges," that is, a minimum and a maximum number of the professional staff for each member, based upon its financial assessments, the fact of membership, allowance for population, and the need for a balanced regional composition of staff at the top levels. The same considerations apply to the personnel policies of most of the Specialized Agencies. The United States, with 302 professional staff members in the United Nations on December 31, 1965, was well within its "desirable range" of 270-412.

In August 1964 President Johnson called upon U.S. Federal agencies to assist in recruiting well-qualified Americans for service in the international organizations. The efforts of the U.S. agencies have been directed mainly to the recruitment of candidates for senior posts in the United Nations and Specialized Agencies. At the same time, however, attention has been given to the recruitment of Americans for junior and middle-grade positions, as well as experts for the U.N. Development Program (UNDP). As of December 31, 1965, Americans filled 20 percent (302) of the 1,509 professional staff positions in the U.N. Secretariat, 16 percent (673) of the 4,196 positions in the secretariats of the Specialized Agencies and the IAEA, and 7 percent (245) of the 3,320 positions under the UNDP. These are year-end figures and do not reflect the considerable number of appointments to the UNDP for less than one year.

The small percentage of Americans in the UNDP and the Spe-

cialized Agencies indicates the need for a more intensive recruitment effort. Experience with the Peace Corps and other similar programs suggests that many qualified young Americans wish to serve their fellow men abroad. They are being encouraged to continue this service through the medium of international organizations. Similarly, the international organizations have been urged to recruit qualified graduates for their international career service, and in this way to encourage stability, continuity, and good morale in their secretariats.





# *appendixes*

1820

# *The United Nations*

## THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly is the only principal organ of the United Nations on which all 117 members are represented.<sup>1</sup> These are listed below:

Afghanistan	Greece	Nigeria
Albania	Guatemala	Norway
Algeria	Guinea	Pakistan
Argentina	Haiti	Panama
Australia	Honduras	Paraguay
Austria	Hungary	Peru
Belgium	Iceland	Philippines
Bolivia	India	Poland
Brazil	Iran	Portugal
Bulgaria	Iraq	Romania
Burma	Ireland	Rwanda
Burundi	Israel	Saudi Arabia
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Italy	Senegal
Cambodia	Ivory Coast	Sierra Leone
Cameroon	Jamaica	Singapore
Canada	Japan	Somalia
Central African Republic	Jordan	South Africa
Ceylon	Kenya	Spain
Chad	Kuwait	Sudan
Chile	Laos	Sweden
China	Lebanon	Syrian Arab Republic
Colombia	Liberia	Tanzania
Congo (Brazzaville)	Libya	Thailand
Congo (Léopoldville)	Luxembourg	Togo
Costa Rica	Malagasy Republic	Trinidad and Tobago
Cuba	Malawi	Tunisia
Cyprus	Malaysia	Turkey
Czechoslovakia	Maldives Islands	Uganda
Dahomey	Mali	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Denmark	Malta	U.S.S.R.
Dominican Republic	Mauritania	United Arab Republic
Ecuador	Mexico	United Kingdom
El Salvador	Mongolia	United States
Ethiopia	Morocco	Upper Volta
Finland	Nepal	Uruguay
France	Netherlands	Venezuela
Gabon	New Zealand	Yemen
Gambia	Nicaragua	Yugoslavia
Ghana	Niger	Zambia

<sup>1</sup> Indonesia withdrew from the United Nations early in 1965.



The 19th regular session of the General Assembly reconvened on January 18, 1965, recessed on February 18, reconvened again on September 1, 1965, and adjourned that same day. The President was Alex Quaison-Sackey (Ghana). No other officers were named.

The 20th regular session of the General Assembly convened on September 21, 1965, and adjourned on December 22, 1965. The 20th General Assembly elected Amintore Fanfani (Italy) President and the chiefs of delegation of Burundi, Kuwait, Central African Republic, Sierra Leone, Morocco, Laos, Malaysia, Poland, Paraguay, Chile, Guatemala, Spain, United States, France, United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., and China as the 17 Vice Presidents. The chairmen of the seven main committees were: Karoly Csatorday (Hungary), Political and Security; Carlet R. Auguste (Haiti), Special Political Committee; P. A. Forthomme (Belgium), Economic and Financial; Francisco Cuevas (Mexico), Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural; Majid Rahnema (Iran), Trusteeship (including Non-Self-Governing Territories); Nejib Bouziri (Tunisia), Administrative and Budgetary; and Abdulah El-Erian (United Arab Republic), Legal.

## THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council consists of 15 members of the United Nations, 5 of which—China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States—have permanent seats. The remaining 10 are elected for 2-year terms by the General Assembly, taking into account article 23 of the U.N. Charter to the effect that “due regard” shall be paid to the contributions of members to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the United Nations and to equitable geographic distribution. The nonpermanent members are not eligible for immediate reelection.

The Charter amendments adopted by the 18th General Assembly increasing the number of nonpermanent members of the Security Council from 6 to 10 provided that at the first election of the nonpermanent members following the Council's enlargement, 2 of the 4 additional members should be chosen for a term of 1 year. The resolution amending the Charter also provided, though not as part of the amendments, that the 10 nonpermanent seats should be allocated as follows: 5 to Africa and Asia, 1 to Eastern Europe, 2 to Latin America, and 2 to Western Europe and “other” states.

In announcing the coming into effect on August 31, 1965, of the amendments enlarging the Security Council, the Secretary-General said that in accordance with the provisions of the 18th General Assembly's resolution and with the Assembly's rules of procedure, elections to both the old and the new seats would be held during the 20th General Assembly and the terms of office of both the old and new members would begin on January 1, 1966.

The membership is as follows:

Permanent members	Nonpermanent members		
	Term expired Dec. 31, 1965	Term expires Dec. 31, 1966	Term expires Dec. 31, 1967
China	Bolivia	Uruguay	Argentina
France	Malaysia <sup>1</sup>	Jordan <sup>2</sup>	Bulgaria
U.S.S.R.	Ivory Coast	Netherlands	Japan
United Kingdom		New Zealand <sup>3</sup>	Mali
United States		Uganda <sup>3</sup>	Nigeria

<sup>1</sup> Malaysia served pursuant to an 18th General Assembly understanding that it would succeed Czechoslovakia for the remainder of the term (1965) to which the latter had been elected in 1963.

<sup>2</sup> Jordan serves pursuant to a 19th General Assembly understanding that it would occupy the seat in question for the first year (1965) and that Mali would occupy the seat for the second year (1966) unless the Charter amendments enlarging the Security Council became effective in the course of 1965, in which case both Jordan and Mali would serve full terms.

<sup>3</sup> Elected for a 1-year term.

## THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (ECOSOC)

The Economic and Social Council is composed of 1 representative from 27<sup>1</sup> member states, 9 countries being elected each year by the General Assembly to serve for a period of 3 years. The Council is composed of representatives of the following countries:

Term expired Dec. 31, 1965	Term expires Dec. 31, 1966	Term expires Dec. 31, 1967	Term expires Dec. 31, 1968
Argentina	Algeria	Cameroon <sup>2</sup>	Czechoslovakia
Austria	Chile	Canada	Iran <sup>2</sup>
Czechoslovakia	Ecuador	Dahomey <sup>2</sup>	Morocco <sup>2</sup>
Japan	France	Gabon	Panama
U.S.S.R.	Greece <sup>2</sup>	India <sup>2</sup>	Philippines
United Kingdom	Iraq	Pakistan	Sweden
	Luxembourg	Peru	U.S.S.R.
	Sierra Leone <sup>2</sup>	Romania	United Kingdom
	Tanzania <sup>2</sup>	United States	Venezuela <sup>2</sup>

The resumed part of the 37th session of ECOSOC, which was not convened as usual at the end of 1964 due to the General Assembly situation, met March 1-8, 1965, at New York.

There were two regular sessions of the Council in 1965. The 38th session was convened at headquarters in New York from March 22-26, 1965. The 39th session was convened at the European headquarters of the United Nations in Geneva on June 30 and recessed on July 31, 1965. The Council elected Ambassador Akira Matsui (Japan) President, and Ambassador Adnan M. Pachachi (Iraq) and Ambassador Jiri Hajek (Czechoslovakia) First and Second Vice Presidents, respectively, for 1965.

<sup>1</sup> Charter amendments enlarging ECOSOC from 18 to 27 came into effect Aug. 31, 1965.

<sup>2</sup> Countries elected during the 20th General Assembly to the enlarged ECOSOC and chosen by lot to serve 1-, 2-, or 3-year terms.



## THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

The Trusteeship Council consists of all U.N. members administering trust territories, the permanent members of the Security Council not administering trust territories, and as many other elected U.N. members not administering trust territories as are required to insure that the total number of members of the Council is equally divided between nations that administer trust territories and those that do not. The elected members serve for a term of 3 years.

At the beginning of 1965 the Council comprised 8 members.

## Members Administering Trust Territories

Australia  
New Zealand

United Kingdom

United States

## Permanent Members of Security Council Not Administering Trust Territories

China

France

Union of Soviet Socialist  
Republics

## Members Elected by the General Assembly

Liberia (through 1965) <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Liberia was reelected for a second term at the 20th General Assembly.

## THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (ICJ)

*Seat of the Court: The Hague**President: Sir Percy Spender**Registrar: M. J. Garnier-Coignet (France)*

Members	Country	Term expires
Fouad Ammoun . . . . .	Lebanon . . . . .	1967 <sup>1</sup>
Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice . . . . .	United Kingdom . . . . .	1973
Isaac Forster . . . . .	Senegal . . . . .	1973
André Gros . . . . .	France . . . . .	1973
P. C. Jessup . . . . .	United States . . . . .	1970
Sir M. Zafrulla Khan . . . . .	Pakistan . . . . .	1973
V. K. Wellington Koo . . . . .	China . . . . .	1967
V. M. Koretsky . . . . .	U.S.S.R. . . . .	1970
G. Morelli . . . . .	Italy . . . . .	1970
L. Padilla Nervo . . . . .	Mexico . . . . .	1973
J. L. Bustamante y Rivero . . . . .	Peru . . . . .	1970
Sir Percy Spender . . . . .	Australia . . . . .	1967
J. Spiropoulos . . . . .	Greece . . . . .	1967
K. Tanaka . . . . .	Japan . . . . .	1970
B. Winiarski . . . . .	Poland . . . . .	1967

<sup>1</sup> Judge Ammoun was elected on Nov. 16, 1965, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Judge Badawi (U.A.R.).

## THE SECRETARIAT OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The Secretariat under article 7 of the Charter is a principal organ of the United Nations. The Secretary-General, U Thant of Burma, is the chief administrative officer of the Organization. The Secretary-General and his staff provide services for the other principal organs. As of December 31, 1965, there were about 6,000 employees on the staff of the Secretariat. The functions of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat are described in general terms in chapter XV of the Charter.

The Secretariat serves as executive agent for the other U.N. organs such as ECOSOC and the Trusteeship Council. In connection with Security Council affairs, for example, the Secretary-General played a key role in the Middle Eastern complex of problems, both as the coordinator of U.N. agencies and as negotiator among the parties involved. The Secretariat provides services and expert staffs for the field missions, such as those in Korea and India-Pakistan and for the Trusteeship Council's missions to trust territories. The Secretariat also prepares studies and background material to facilitate the work of the several organs and their subsidiary bodies.

Another important task of the Secretariat is that of servicing meetings of the U.N. Councils and their subsidiary bodies. This includes making physical arrangements, translating, interpreting, preparing minutes and documentation, publishing official records, and advising chairmen on precedents and parliamentary procedures.

A third responsibility of the Secretariat is the development of arrangements with the Specialized Agencies for the coordination of programs and administrative and financial practices. Finally, the Secretariat is responsible for supplying information to the world on the purposes and daily activities of the United Nations.



## Organization

As of December 31, 1965, the top U.N. Secretariat officials were as follows:

Secretary-General . . . . .	U Thant (Burma)
<i>Under Secretaries:</i>	
General Assembly Affairs and Chef de Cabinet.	C. V. Narasimhan (India)
Special Political Affairs . . . . .	Ralph J. Bunche (U.S.)
Special Political Affairs and Officer in Charge, Office of Public Information.	José Rolz-Bennett (Guatemala)
Legal Counsel . . . . .	Constantine A. Stavropoulos (Greece)
Controller . . . . .	Bruce R. Turner (New Zealand)
Director of Personnel . . . . .	Sir Alexander MacFarquhar (U.K.)
Political and Security Council Affairs . . . . .	Aleksei E. Nesterenko (U.S.S.R.)
Economic and Social Council Affairs . . . . .	Philippe M. de Seynes (France)
Commissioner for Technical Assistance . . . . .	Victor Hoo (China)
Commissioner for Industrial Development . . . . .	Ibrahim H. Abdel-Rahman (U.A.R.)
Secretary General, U.N. Conference on Trade and Development.	Raúl Prebisch (Argentina)
Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Europe (ECE).	Vladimir Velebit (Yugoslavia)
Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE).	U Nyun (Burma)
Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA).	José Antonio Mayobre (Venezuela)
Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).	Robert K. A. Gardiner (Ghana)
Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories.	Godfrey K. J. Amachree (Nigeria)
Office of Conference Services . . . . .	Jiri Nosek (Czechoslovakia)
Director of General Services . . . . .	David B. Vaughan (U.S.)
Director of the European Office . . . . .	Pier Pasquale Spinelli (Italy)
Registrar, International Court of Justice . . . . .	M. J. Garnier-Coignet (France)
<i>The following officials of Special U.N. Voluntary Programs have special status and receive the salary and allowances of Under Secretaries:</i>	
Administrator, United Nations Development Program.	Paul G. Hoffman (U.S.)
Co-Administrator, United Nations Development Program.	David Owen (U.K.)
Associate Administrator, United Nations Development Program.	Roberto H. Huertematte (Panama)
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).	Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan (Iran)
Commissioner General, United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA).	Laurence Michelmore (U.S.)
Executive Director, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).	Henry R. Labouisse, Jr. (U.S.)

Director, Training Program for Foreign Service Officers from Newly Independent Countries.	Dragoslav Protitch (Yugoslavia)
Executive Director, United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR).	Gabriel D'Arboussier (Senegal)

## GENERAL ASSEMBLY

*Standing Committees of the General Assembly*

There are two standing committees of the General Assembly. Each consists of experts appointed in their individual capacities for a 3-year term.

*The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions* examines the budgets of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies and advises the Administrative and Budgetary Committee of the General Assembly. As of December 31, 1965, the 12 members were Jan P. Bannier (Netherlands), Albert F. Bender (U.S.), Abdou Ciss (Senegal), Paulo Lopes Corrêa (Brazil), André Ganem (France), James Gibson (U.K.), Raúl A. J. Quijano (Argentina), Mohamed Riad (U.A.R.), E. Olu Sanu (Nigeria), Dragos Serbanescu (Romania), Shilendra K. Singh (India), and V. F. Ulanchev (U.S.S.R.).

*The Committee on Contributions* consists of 10 members who advise the General Assembly concerning the apportionment of expenses of the United Nations among members. The members as of December 31, 1965, were Raymond T. Bowman (U.S.), Jorge Pablo Fernandini (Peru), James Gibson (U.K.), Louis-Denis Hudon (Canada), F. Nouredin Kia (Iran), David Silveira da Mota (Brazil), Gopalaswami Parthasarathi (India), Stanislaw Raczkowski (Poland), V. G. Solodovnikov (U.S.S.R.), and Maurice Viaud (France).

*Subsidiary and Ad Hoc Bodies of the General Assembly*

## UNITED NATIONS SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE (UNSAC)

The General Assembly at its 9th session (1954) established an Advisory Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy to assist the Secretary-General in preparing for the first international conference on this subject held in Geneva in 1955. By direction of the 10th General Assembly the Committee performed the same function with respect to the second such conference held in Geneva in 1958. At its 13th session (1958), the General Assembly decided that the Committee, under its present name *United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee*, should continue in existence "To advise and assist the Secretary-General on all matters relating to the peaceful uses of atomic energy with which the United Nations might be concerned."

The Committee has seven members—Brazil, Canada, France, India, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States.



# UNITED NATIONS SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE ON THE EFFECTS OF ATOMIC RADIATION (UNSCEAR)

At its 10th session (1955) the General Assembly established the U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR) to study and report on ionizing radiation and its effects upon man and his environment. The Committee has 15 members—Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, the U.S.S.R., the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

## COMMITTEE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE

The General Assembly at its 14th session in 1959 established the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to carry forward the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space created the year before. The Committee consisted of 24 member states. In 1961 the 16th General Assembly expanded the membership to 28 states. The Committee considers matters pertaining to international space cooperation and presents reports with recommendations to the General Assembly. In 1962 the Committee established a Scientific and Technical Subcommittee and a Legal Subcommittee. In 1965, the Legal Subcommittee met in New York from September 20 through October 1. The full Committee met in New York on May 27 and again from October 5 through 8. The Scientific and Technical Subcommittee did not meet in 1965.

The membership of the Committee is as follows:

Albania	France	Poland
Argentina	Hungary	Romania
Australia	India	Sierra Leone
Austria	Iran	Sweden
Belgium	Italy	U.S.S.R.
Brazil	Japan	United Arab Republic
Bulgaria	Lebanon	United Kingdom
Canada	Mexico	United States
Chad	Mongolia	
Czechoslovakia	Morocco	

## THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (COMMITTEE OF 24)

The General Assembly at its 16th session (1961) established a Special Committee of 17 members "to examine the application of the Declaration [on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples], to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of the implementation of the Declaration, and to report to the General Assembly at its seventeenth session." The

17th General Assembly (1962) enlarged the Committee by 7 new members and invited it "to continue to seek the most suitable ways and means for the speedy and total application of the Declaration to all territories which have not yet attained independence. . . ." The 20th General Assembly (1965) continued the Special Committee.

The membership of the Committee is as follows:

Afghanistan <sup>1</sup>	Iraq	Tunisia
Australia	Italy	U.S.S.R.
Bulgaria	Ivory Coast	United Kingdom
Cambodia <sup>2</sup>	Malagasy Republic	United States
Chile	Mali	Uruguay
Denmark	Poland	Venezuela
Ethiopia	Sierra Leone	Yugoslavia
India	Syria	
Iran	Tanzania	

<sup>1</sup> Appointed Dec. 1965.

<sup>2</sup> Resigned Sept. 1965.

#### TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD OF THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

The establishment of the Trade and Development Board as a continuing organ of the Conference, held in Geneva in 1964, was proposed in Annex A.V.I. of the Final Act of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and was adopted on December 30, 1964. The Trade and Development Board consists of 55 <sup>1</sup> members to be elected at each regular session of the Conference. Current members of the Board are:

Afghanistan	France	Nigeria
Argentina	Germany, Federal	Norway
Australia	Republic of	Pakistan
Austria	Ghana	Philippines
Belgium	Guinea	Poland
Bolivia	Honduras	Romania
Brazil	Hungary	Spain
Bulgaria	India	Sweden
Cameroon	Iran	Switzerland
Canada	Iraq	Tanzania
Ceylon	Italy	Turkey
Chile	Japan	U.S.S.R.
Congo (Léopoldville)	Lebanon	United Arab Republic
Czechoslovakia	Malagasy Republic	United Kingdom
Dahomey	Mali	United States
Denmark	Mexico	Uruguay
Ecuador	Morocco	Yugoslavia
El Salvador	Netherlands	
Ethiopia	New Zealand	

<sup>1</sup> Indonesia had been elected a member of the Board but the seat has remained vacant.

## UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR)

*High Commissioner for Refugees: Felix Schnyder,<sup>1</sup> Switzerland (resigned)*

*1965 Chairman: S. F. Rae, Canada*

General Assembly Resolution 1166 (XII) authorized, and Economic and Social Council Resolution 672 (XXV) established, an Executive Committee of the Program of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Economic and Social Council Resolution 965 B (XXXVI) reconfirmed the existing 25 members of the Committee and recommended that the General Assembly enlarge the Committee by 5 additional members. General Assembly Resolution 1958 (XVIII) endorsed this recommendation. The Executive Committee held its 13th and 14th sessions at Geneva from May 10 to 17, 1965, and from October 25 to November 2, 1965.

The following countries are members of the Executive Committee:

Algeria	Germany, Federal	Norway
Australia	Republic of	Sweden
Austria	Greece	Switzerland
Belgium	Holy See	Tanzania
Brazil	Iran	Tunisia
Canada	Israel	Turkey
China	Italy	United Kingdom
Colombia	Lebanon	United States
Denmark	Malagasy Republic	Venezuela
France	Netherlands	Yugoslavia
	Nigeria	

<sup>1</sup> Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan was elected High Commissioner during the 20th General Assembly, December 1965.

## THE U.N. STAFF PENSION COMMITTEE

This Committee represents the United Nations on the Joint Staff Pension Board and administers, in respect of U.N. employees, the powers delegated by the Board relating to admission of participants and granting of benefits. As of December 31, 1965, it was composed of three members elected by the General Assembly, two members<sup>1</sup> appointed by the Secretary-General, and three elected by the participants. The members elected by the General Assembly are Albert F. Bender (U.S.), José Espinoza (Chile), and James Gibson (U.K.). The alternates elected by the General Assembly are Brian J. Lynch (New Zealand), Jean-Claude Renaud (France), and Shilendra K. Singh (India). Members appointed by the Secretary-General are Bruce Turner (New Zealand) and David Vaughan (U.S.). Members

<sup>1</sup> One vacancy existed.



elected by the participants are Alfred Landau (U.S.), Marc Schreiber (Belgium), and Mrs. Patricia K. Tsien (China).

#### THE INVESTMENTS COMMITTEE

This Committee advises the Secretary-General concerning the investment of the assets of the Pension Fund and other funds as appropriate. As of December 31, 1965, it was composed of Eugene Black (U.S.), Roger de Candolle (Switzerland), R. McAllister Lloyd (U.S.), George A. Murphy (U.S.), B. K. Nehru (India), and Jacques Rueff (France).

#### THE BOARD OF AUDITORS

This Board audits the accounts of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, and such of the Specialized Agencies as may request its services. As of December 31, 1965, it was composed of three members, as follows: The First President of the Audit Office of Belgium, the Auditor-General of Colombia, and the Auditor-General of Pakistan.

#### THE U.N. ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNAL

This body, composed of seven members, hears and passes judgment upon applications alleging nonobservance of contracts of employment or terms of appointment of staff members of the Secretariat of the United Nations. As of December 31, 1965, the seven members, only three of whom sit in a particular case, were Mme. Paul Bastid (France), Lord Crook (U.K.), Héctor Gros Espiell (Uruguay), Louis Ignacio-Pinto (Dahomey), Bror Arvid Sture Petré (Sweden), Francis T. P. Plimpton (U.S.), and R. Venkataraman (India).

## INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

*Chairman: Milan Bartoš*

Roberto Ago . . . . .	Italy
Gilberto Amado . . . . .	Brazil
Milan Bartoš . . . . .	Yugoslavia
Mohammed Bedjaoui . . . . .	Algeria <sup>1</sup>
Herbert W. Briggs . . . . .	United States
Marcel Cadieux . . . . .	Canada
Erik Castrén . . . . .	Finland
Abdullah El-Erian . . . . .	United Arab Republic
Taslim O. Elias . . . . .	Nigeria
Eduardo Jiménez de Aréchaga . . . . .	Uruguay
Manfred Lachs . . . . .	Poland
Liu Chieh . . . . .	China
Antonio De Luna . . . . .	Spain
Radhabinod Pal . . . . .	India
Angel M. Paredes . . . . .	Ecuador
Obed Pessou . . . . .	Senegal
Paul Reuter . . . . .	France
Shabtai Rosenne . . . . .	Israel
José Maria Ruda . . . . .	Argentina
Abdul Hakim Tabibi . . . . .	Afghanistan
Senjin Tsuruoka . . . . .	Japan
Grigory I. Tunkin . . . . .	U.S.S.R.
Alfred Verdross . . . . .	Austria
Sir Humphrey Waldock . . . . .	United Kingdom
Mustafa Kamil Yasseen . . . . .	Iraq

The International Law Commission held its 17th session at Geneva from May 3 to July 9, 1965.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bedjaoui was elected May 18, 1965, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Victor Kanga (Cameroon).

## ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

*Standing Committees of the Economic and Social Council*TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE COMMITTEE (TAC)<sup>1</sup>

The Economic and Social Council, when it established the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA) August 15, 1949, established a standing Technical Assistance Committee (TAC) composed of members of the Council. At the 23d session of the Council the membership was increased to 24 by the addition of 6 members to be elected from among the states members of the United Nations or members of the Specialized Agencies. At the resumed part of the 32d session of the Council the membership increased to 30. The function of the TAC is to review regularly the EPTA program and to approve the overall program for the following year; to authorize the allocation of funds to the participating organizations; and to make for the Council critical examinations of activities undertaken and results achieved under the expanded program.

*1965 Chairman: Francisco Pulit, Argentina*

*Membership in 1965*

*(See ECOSOC membership)*

Elected members	Expiration date
Afghanistan . . . . .	December 31, 1965
China . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Italy . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Jordan . . . . .	December 31, 1965
New Zealand . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Sweden . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Denmark . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Nigeria . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Poland . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Switzerland . . . . .	December 31, 1966
United Arab Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1966

The Committee met before the 39th session of ECOSOC, June 15 to 25, November 24, and December 15, 1965, at New York.

<sup>1</sup> Superseded by the Governing Council of the U.N. Development Program, A/RES/2029(XX).



## COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT (CID)

The Economic and Social Council at its 29th session established a standing committee, Committee for Industrial Development. The Committee advises ECOSOC in matters related to the acceleration by less industrialized countries of their industrial development. The Committee is composed of all members of ECOSOC together with an additional 12 members elected from among states members of the United Nations or members of the Specialized Agencies.

The membership of the Committee is as follows:

*1965 Chairman: Dr. Jorge Pablo Fernandini, Peru*

*(See ECOSOC membership)*

Elected members	Expiration date
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Cameroon . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Central African Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Sweden . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Germany . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Philippines . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Poland . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Turkey . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Greece . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Kuwait . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Mexico . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Morocco . . . . .	December 31, 1967

In December 1965 ECOSOC decided not to elect new members to the Committee for 1966 but to increase membership on the Committee from 30 to 32—the 27 members of ECOSOC for 1966 plus the 5 additional members of the Committee whose terms of office did not expire on December 31, 1965, and which were not members of ECOSOC: Germany, Kuwait, Mexico, Poland, and Turkey.

The Committee held its fifth meeting May 11–28, 1965, at New York.

## COMMITTEE ON HOUSING, BUILDING AND PLANNING

The Economic and Social Council at its 34th session established a Committee on Housing, Building and Planning. The Committee is to make recommendations on such matters dealing with housing and related community facilities, and physical planning, as: financing of home construction and ownership, provision of land for homes and community facilities at reasonable costs, designs suitable for low-cost housing in different climates and cultures, improved building materials and their better use, and ways of promoting acceptance and adoption of efficient organizational and building techniques.

The membership of the Committee is as follows:

*1965 Chairman: Einer Engberg, Denmark*

Elected members	Expiration date
Colombia . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Iran . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Israel . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Japan . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Malagasy Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Nigeria . . . . .	December 31, 1965
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Canada . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Chile . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Denmark . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Pakistan <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Peru. . . . .	December 31, 1966
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1966
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1966
France . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Ghana . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Italy . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Lebanon. . . . .	December 31, 1967
Romania . . . . .	December 31, 1967
United Arab Republic. . . . .	December 31, 1967
Uruguay . . . . .	December 31, 1967

<sup>1</sup> Elected Mar. 24, 1965, to serve for the remainder of the term of Indonesia.

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives to serve for the period January 1, 1966, through December 31, 1968:

Colombia	India	Turkey
Czechoslovakia	Japan	United States
Gabon		

The Committee held its third session at New York from September 7 to 20, 1965.

#### ECOSOC ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THE APPLICATION OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TO DEVELOPMENT

*1965 Chairman: Dr. M. S. Thacker, India*

By Resolution 980A(XXXVI) of August 1, 1963, ECOSOC provided for the creation of an Advisory Committee, to be composed of individuals appointed by it on the nomination of the U.N. Secretary-General, to review and recommend measures for the practical application of science and technology for the benefit of the less developed areas of the world. The Committee, as formally constituted by

ECOSOC during its resumed 36th session which convened December 1963, consists of the following 18 members:

Svend Aage Anderson . . . . .	Denmark
Pierre Victor Auger . . . . .	France
Mamadou Aw . . . . .	Mali
Nicolae Cernescu . . . . .	Romania
Carlos Chagas . . . . .	Brazil
Josef Charvat . . . . .	Czechoslovakia
Abba Eban . . . . .	Israel
Francisco Garcia Olano . . . . .	Argentina
German Mikhailovich Gvishiani . . . . .	U.S.S.R.
Salah El-Din Hedayat . . . . .	United Arab Republic
Kankuro Kaneshige . . . . .	Japan
Eni Njoku . . . . .	Nigeria
Oliverio Phillips Michelsen . . . . .	Colombia
Abdus Salam . . . . .	Pakistan
Maneklal Sankalchand Thacker . . . . .	India
Sir Ronald Walker . . . . .	Australia
Carroll L. Wilson . . . . .	United States
Sir Norman Wright . . . . .	United Kingdom

The Committee held its third session at UNESCO Headquarters, Paris, France, from March 31 to April 9, 1965, and its fourth session at Geneva from November 8 to 19, 1965.

#### UNITED NATIONS/FAO INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE

*1965 Chairman: H. J. Kristensen, Denmark*

By a resolution of the 11th session of the FAO Conference and U.N. General Assembly Resolution 1714 (XVI) in 1962, there was established a World Food Program to facilitate the best possible use of food surpluses for the economic development of the less developed countries and to make recommendations on procedures and arrangements for the multilateral utilization of surplus food. There was also established by these two resolutions a United Nations/FAO Intergovernmental Committee of 20 states members of the United Nations and members of the FAO to provide guidance on policy, administration, and operations of a joint administrative unit. Ten members were to be elected by the U.N. Economic and Social Council and 10 by the FAO Council.

At the request of the FAO Council, the 12th session of the FAO Conference, November 1963, and General Assembly Resolution 1914 (XVIII), December 1963, enlarged the Committee to 24 members, 2 to be elected by the FAO and 2 to be elected by the United Nations.

The U.N. General Assembly at its 20th session and the FAO Conference at its 13th session decided to place the World Food Program on a continuing basis "for as long as multilateral food aid is found feasible and desirable . . . ."



The following countries were elected by the United Nations and the FAO:

Countries elected by FAO	Expiration date
Argentina . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Canada . . . . .	December 31, 1966
India . . . . .	December 31, 1966
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Ceylon . . . . .	December 31, 1967
France . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Germany, Federal Republic of . . . . .	December 31, 1967
New Zealand . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Colombia . . . . .	December 31, 1968
Jamaica . . . . .	December 31, 1968
Netherlands . . . . .	December 31, 1968
Nigeria . . . . .	December 31, 1968

Countries elected by ECOSOC	Expiration date
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Denmark . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Ghana . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Turkey . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Australia . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Mexico . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Peru . . . . .	December 31, 1967
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Ireland . . . . .	December 31, 1968
Pakistan . . . . .	December 31, 1968
Sweden . . . . .	December 31, 1968
United Arab Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1968

The Intergovernmental Committee held its 7th and 8th sessions at Rome from March 31 to April 14, 1965, and from October 11 to 15, 1965, respectively.

*Functional Commissions of the Economic and Social Council*

## COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

*1965 Chairman: Salvador Lopez, Philippines*

	Expiration date
Canada . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Chile . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Denmark . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Ecuador . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Liberia . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Ukrainian S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1965
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Austria . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Costa Rica . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Dahomey . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Italy . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Netherlands . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Poland . . . . .	December 31, 1966
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1966
France . . . . .	December 31, 1967
India . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Iraq . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Israel . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Jamaica . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Philippines . . . . .	December 31, 1967
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1967

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Council) to serve for the period January 1, 1966, through December 31, 1968:

Argentina	Senegal	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Chile	Sweden	United States
New Zealand		

The Commission held its 21st session at Geneva from March 22 to April 15, 1965.

## COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY TRADE (CICT)

*1963 Chairman: Octavia A. Dias Carneiro, Brazil*

	Expiration date
Australia . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Belgium . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Ecuador . . . . .	December 31, 1964
France . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Malagasy Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Mali . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Peru . . . . .	December 31, 1964
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Greece . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Romania . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Thailand . . . . .	December 31, 1965
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1965
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Uruguay . . . . .	December 31, 1965
India . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Ivory Coast . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Japan . . . . .	December 31, 1966
New Zealand . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Pakistan . . . . .	December 31, 1966
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Yugoslavia . . . . .	December 31, 1966

The ECOSOC, on March 1, 1965, by Resolution 1050 (XXXVII) decided to discontinue this Commission and to transfer its functions to the Committee on Commodities of the Trade and Development Board of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).



## COMMISSION ON NARCOTIC DRUGS

*1965 Chairman: B. N. Banerji, India*

	Expiration date
Germany, Federal Republic of . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Hungary . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Iran . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Korea, Republic of . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Mexico . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Morocco . . . . .	December 31, 1965
United Arab Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1965
China . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Ghana . . . . .	December 31, 1966
India . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Japan . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Turkey . . . . .	December 31, 1966
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1966
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Argentina . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Canada . . . . .	December 31, 1967
France . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Peru . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Switzerland . . . . .	December 31, 1967
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Yugoslavia . . . . .	December 31, 1967

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to be members for the period January 1, 1966, through December 31, 1968:

Germany	Mexico	Korea
Hungary	Nigeria	United Arab Republic
Iran		

The Commission held its 20th session at Geneva from November 29 to December 21, 1965.

## POPULATION COMMISSION

*1965 Chairman: W. D. Borrie, Australia*

	Expiration date
El Salvador . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Japan . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Syria . . . . .	December 31, 1965
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1965
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1965
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1965
China . . . . .	December 31, 1967
France . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Ghana . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Sweden . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Tunisia . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Ukrainian S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1967
Australia . . . . .	December 31, 1968
Austria . . . . .	December 31, 1968
India . . . . .	December 31, 1968
Netherlands . . . . .	December 31, 1968
Panama . . . . .	December 31, 1968
Yugoslavia . . . . .	December 31, 1968

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Council) to serve for the period January 1, 1966, through December 31, 1969: <sup>1</sup>

Cameroon	Peru	United Kingdom
Japan	U.S.S.R.	United States

The Commission held its 13th session at New York from March 23 to April 5, 1965.

<sup>1</sup> Countries elected to Commissions which meet biennially serve 4-year terms.

## SOCIAL COMMISSION

*1965 Chairman: Jorge Alvarez Olloniego, Uruguay*

	Expiration date
Austria . . . . .	December 31, 1965
France . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Gabon . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Iraq . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Malaysia . . . . .	December 31, 1965
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1965
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Argentina . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Byelorussian S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1966
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Denmark . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Mauritania <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	December 31, 1966
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Uruguay . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Bulgaria . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Cuba . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Honduras . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Mali . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Tunisia . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Uganda . . . . .	December 31, 1967
United Arab Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1967

In addition the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Council) to serve for the period January 1, 1966, through December 31, 1968:

China	Netherlands	United States
France	U.S.S.R.	Upper Volta
Israel		

The Commission held its 16th session at New York from May 3 to May 19, 1965.

<sup>1</sup> Elected Mar. 24, 1965, to serve for the remainder of the term of Indonesia.



## STATISTICAL COMMISSION

*1965 Chairman: Petter Jakob Bjerve, Norway*

	Expiration date
Canada . . . . .	December 31, 1965
China . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Ireland. . . . .	December 31, 1965
Japan . . . . .	December 31, 1965
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1965
United States. . . . .	December 31, 1965
Australia. . . . .	December 31, 1967
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1967
China <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	December 31, 1967
India . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Ukrainian S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1967
United Arab Republic. . . . .	December 31, 1967
France. . . . .	December 31, 1968
Hungary. . . . .	December 31, 1968
Norway . . . . .	December 31, 1968
Panama . . . . .	December 31, 1968
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1968
Uruguay. . . . .	December 31, 1968

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Council) to serve for the period January 1, 1966, through December 31, 1969: <sup>2</sup>

Belgium	Japan	U.S.S.R.
Canada	Morocco	United States

The Commission held its 13th session at New York from April 20 to May 7, 1965.

<sup>1</sup> China, whose term of office would have expired on Dec. 31, 1965, was reelected on Mar. 24, 1965, to fill the seat vacated by Indonesia.

<sup>2</sup> Countries elected to Commissions which meet biennially serve 4-year terms.

## COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

*1965 Chairman: H.I.H. Princess Ashraf Pahlavi, Iran*

	Expiration date
Colombia . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Finland . . . . .	December 31, 1965
France . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Mexico . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Peru . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Poland . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Sierra Leone . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Dominican Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Guinea . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Hungary . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Iran . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Nepal . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Philippines . . . . .	December 31, 1966
United Arab Republic . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Austria . . . . .	December 31, 1967
China . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Ghana . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Japan <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	December 31, 1967
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1967
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1967
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1967

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Council) for the period January 1, 1966, through December 31, 1968:

Chile	Honduras	Mexico
Finland	Liberia	Poland
France		

The Commission held its 18th session at Tehran, Iran, from March 1 to 20, 1965.

<sup>1</sup> Japan was elected to fill the seat vacated by Indonesia.

*Regional Commissions of the Economic and Social Council*

## ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA (ECA)

*Headquarters: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**1965 Chairman: T. Mboya, Kenya*

Algeria	Guinea	Senegal
Burundi	Ivory Coast	Sierra Leone
Cameroon	Kenya	Somalia
Central African Republic	Liberia	South Africa <sup>2</sup>
Chad	Libya	Sudan
Congo (Brazzaville)	Malagasy Republic	Tanzania
Congo (Léopoldville)	Malawi	Togo
Dahomey	Mali	Tunisia
Ethiopia	Mauritania	Uganda
Gabon	Morocco	United Arab Republic
Gambia <sup>1</sup>	Niger	Upper Volta
Ghana	Nigeria	Zambia
	Rwanda	

According to paragraph 6 of the Commission's terms of reference, Non-Self-Governing Territories in Africa (including African islands), and Powers other than Portugal responsible for international relations of those Territories (France, Spain, U.K.), are associate members of the Commission.

The Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland participate in a consultative capacity.

The Commission held its 7th session at Nairobi, Kenya, from February 9 to 23, 1965.

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<sup>1</sup> Became a member of the United Nations and therefore a member of the Commission on Sept. 21, 1965.

<sup>2</sup> The Economic and Social Council decided by Resolution 9740 IV (XXXVI) of July 30, 1963, that the Republic of South Africa should not take part in the work of the Commission until the Council, on the recommendation of the Commission, should find that conditions for constructive cooperation had been restored by a change in South Africa's racial policy.



## ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST (ECAFE)

*Headquarters: Bangkok, Thailand**1965 Chairman: J. R. Marshall, New Zealand*

Afghanistan	Iran	Pakistan
Australia	Japan	Philippines
Burma	Korea, Republic of	Thailand
Cambodia	Laos	U.S.S.R.
Ceylon	Malaysia	United Kingdom
China	Mongolia	United States
France	Nepal	Viet-Nam, Republic of
India	Netherlands	Western Samoa
Indonesia <sup>1</sup>	New Zealand	

*Associate Members*

Brunei	Hong Kong
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The Commission held its 21st session at Wellington, New Zealand, from March 16 to 29, 1965.

## ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE (ECE)

*Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland**1965 Chairman: Karoly Szarka, Hungary*

Albania	Germany, Federal	Poland
Austria	Republic of	Portugal
Belgium	Greece	Romania
Bulgaria	Hungary	Spain
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Iceland	Sweden
Cyprus	Ireland	Turkey
Czechoslovakia	Italy	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Denmark	Luxembourg	U.S.S.R.
Finland	Malta	United Kingdom
France	Netherlands	United States
	Norway	Yugoslavia

Switzerland participates in a consultative capacity.

The Commission held its 20th session at Geneva from April 21 to May 8, 1965.

<sup>1</sup> Indonesia withdrew its membership in the Commission on Mar. 31, 1965.

## ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA (ECLA)

*Headquarters: Santiago, Chile**1965 Chairman: Octaviano Campos Salas, Mexico*

Argentina	Ecuador	Nicaragua
Bolivia	El Salvador	Panama
Brazil	France	Paraguay
Canada	Guatemala	Peru
Chile	Haiti	Trinidad and Tobago
Colombia	Honduras	United Kingdom
Costa Rica	Jamaica	United States
Cuba	Mexico	Uruguay
Dominican Republic	Netherlands	Venezuela

*Associate Members*

British Guiana	British Honduras or Belize
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The Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland participate in a consultative capacity in the work of the Commission by virtue of ECOSOC Resolutions 632 (XXII) and 861 (XXXII), respectively. The Commission held its 11th session at Mexico City, Mexico, from May 6 to 17, 1965.

*U.N. Special Bodies and Programs*

## UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND (UNICEF)

*Executive Board**1965 Chairman: Mrs. Zena Harman, Israel*

	Expiration date
Dominican Republic . . . . .	January 31, 1966 <sup>1</sup>
Mexico . . . . .	January 31, 1966
Philippines . . . . .	January 31, 1966
Senegal . . . . .	January 31, 1966
Spain . . . . .	January 31, 1966
Sudan . . . . .	January 31, 1966
Sweden . . . . .	January 31, 1966
Switzerland . . . . .	January 31, 1966
Turkey . . . . .	January 31, 1966
United Kingdom . . . . .	January 31, 1966
Afghanistan . . . . .	January 31, 1967
Brazil . . . . .	January 31, 1967
China . . . . .	January 31, 1967
France . . . . .	January 31, 1967
Poland . . . . .	January 31, 1967
Thailand . . . . .	January 31, 1967
Tunisia . . . . .	January 31, 1967
U.S.S.R . . . . .	January 31, 1967
United Arab Republic . . . . .	January 31, 1967
United States . . . . .	January 31, 1967
Belgium . . . . .	January 31, 1968
Canada . . . . .	January 31, 1968
Chile . . . . .	January 31, 1968
Ecuador . . . . .	January 31, 1968
Germany, Federal Republic of . . . . .	January 31, 1968
India . . . . .	January 31, 1968
Israel . . . . .	January 31, 1968
Morocco . . . . .	January 31, 1968
Pakistan . . . . .	January 31, 1968
Yugoslavia . . . . .	January 31, 1968

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council for the period February 1, 1966, through January 31, 1969:

Australia	Philippines	Switzerland
Bulgaria	Senegal	Turkey
Ethiopia	Sweden	United Kingdom
Peru		

The Executive Board of the UNICEF met at New York, February 2, 1965, and June 14-23, 1965.

<sup>1</sup> The Economic and Social Council agreed to a UNICEF Executive Board request that the terms of membership begin Feb. 1 and end Jan. 31 of each year.



GOVERNING COUNCIL OF THE SPECIAL FUND <sup>1</sup>*1965 Chairman: Daniel Cosío Villegas, Mexico (reelected)*

	Expiration date
Canada . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Japan . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Philippines . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Poland . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Sweden . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Tunisia . . . . .	December 31, 1965
U.S.S.R. . . . .	December 31, 1965
Uruguay . . . . .	December 31, 1965
Argentina . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Germany, Federal Republic of . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Ghana . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Italy . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Nepal . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Netherlands . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Norway . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Senegal . . . . .	December 31, 1966
Brazil . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Denmark . . . . .	December 31, 1967
France . . . . .	December 31, 1967
India . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Iraq . . . . .	December 31, 1967
United Kingdom . . . . .	December 31, 1967
United States . . . . .	December 31, 1967
Venezuela . . . . .	December 31, 1967

The Governing Council held its 13th and 14th sessions at New York, January 11-18, 1965, and June 1-8, 1965.

<sup>1</sup> Superseded by the Governing Council of the U.N. Development Program A/RES/2029 (XX).

# *The Specialized Agencies*

## FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION (FAO)

*Headquarters: Rome, Italy*

*Director General: B. R. Sen, India*

Afghanistan	Guatemala	Nigeria
Algeria	Guinea	Norway
Argentina	Haiti	Pakistan
Australia	Honduras	Panama
Austria	Iceland	Paraguay
Belgium	India	Peru
Bolivia	Indonesia <sup>1</sup>	Philippines
Brazil	Iran	Poland
Burma	Iraq	Portugal
Burundi	Ireland	Romania
Cambodia	Israel	Rwanda
Cameroon	Italy	Saudi Arabia
Canada	Ivory Coast	Senegal
Central African Republic	Jamaica	Sierra Leone
Ceylon	Japan	Somalia
Chad	Jordan	Spain
Chile	Kenya	Sudan
Colombia	Korea, Republic of	Sweden
Congo (Brazzaville)	Kuwait	Switzerland
Congo (Léopoldville)	Laos	Syrian Arab Republic
Costa Rica	Lebanon	Tanzania
Cuba	Liberia	Thailand
Cyprus	Libya	Togo
Dahomey	Luxembourg	Trinidad and Tobago
Denmark	Malagasy Republic	Tunisia
Dominican Republic	Malawi	Turkey
Ecuador	Malaysia	Uganda
El Salvador	Mali	United Arab Republic
Ethiopia	Malta	United Kingdom
Finland	Mauritania	United States
France	Mexico	Upper Volta
Gabon	Morocco	Uruguay
Gambia	Nepal	Venezuela
Germany, Federal	Netherlands	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Republic of	New Zealand	Yemen
Ghana	Nicaragua	Yugoslavia
Greece	Niger	Zambia

### *Associate Members*

Basutoland      British Guiana      Mauritius      Bechuanaland

As of December 31, 1965, FAO had 110 members and 4 associate members.

<sup>1</sup> Indonesia notified FAO Feb. 12, 1965, of its intention to withdraw; withdrawal to be effective Feb. 12, 1966.

# INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT (IBRD)<sup>1</sup>

*Headquarters: Washington, D.C.*

*President: George D. Woods, United States*

*Vice President: Geoffrey M. Wilson, United Kingdom*

*Vice President: J. Burke Knapp, United States*

Afghanistan	Guatemala	Nigeria
Algeria	Guinea	Norway
Argentina	Haiti	Pakistan
Australia	Honduras	Panama
Austria	Iceland	Paraguay
Belgium	India	Peru
Bolivia	Iran	Philippines
Brazil	Iraq	Portugal
Burma	Ireland	Rwanda
Burundi	Israel	Saudi Arabia
Cameroon	Italy	Senegal
Canada	Ivory Coast	Sierra Leone
Central African Republic	Jamaica	Somalia
Ceylon	Japan	South Africa
Chad	Jordan	Spain
Chile	Kenya	Sudan
China	Korea, Republic of	Sweden
Colombia	Kuwait	Syrian Arab Republic
Congo (Brazzaville)	Laos	Tanzania
Congo (Léopoldville)	Lebanon	Thailand
Costa Rica	Liberia	Togo
Cyprus	Libya	Trinidad and Tobago
Dahomey	Luxembourg	Tunisia
Denmark	Malagasy Republic	Turkey
Dominican Republic	Malawi	Uganda
Ecuador	Malaysia	United Arab Republic
El Salvador	Mali	United Kingdom
Ethiopia	Mauritania	United States
Finland	Mexico	Upper Volta
France	Morocco	Uruguay
Gabon	Nepal	Venezuela
Germany, Federal Republic of	Netherlands	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Ghana	New Zealand	Yugoslavia
Greece	Nicaragua	Zambia
	Niger	

As of December 31, 1965, the IBRD had 103 members. Cuba withdrew in early 1964 and Indonesia withdrew in 1965.

<sup>1</sup> A state is required to belong to the IMF before it may join the IBRD.



# INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION (ICAO)

*Headquarters: Montreal, Canada*

*President of Council: Walter Binaghi, Argentina*

*Secretary General: Bernardus T. Twigt, Netherlands*

Afghanistan	Guatemala	Nigeria
Algeria	Guinea	Norway
Argentina	Haiti	Pakistan
Australia	Honduras	Panama
Austria	Iceland	Paraguay
Belgium	India	Peru
Bolivia	Indonesia	Philippines
Brazil	Iran	Poland
Burma	Iraq	Portugal
Cambodia	Ireland	Romania
Cameroon	Israel	Rwanda
Canada	Italy	Saudi Arabia
Central African Republic	Ivory Coast	Senegal
Ceylon	Jamaica	Sierra Leone
Chad	Japan	Somalia
Chile	Jordan	South Africa
China	Kenya	Spain
Colombia	Korea, Republic of	Sudan
Congo (Brazzaville)	Kuwait	Sweden
Congo (Léopoldville)	Laos	Switzerland
Costa Rica	Lebanon	Syrian Arab Republic
Cuba	Liberia	Tanzania
Cyprus	Libya	Thailand
Czechoslovakia	Luxembourg	Togo
Dahomey	Malagasy Republic	Trinidad and Tobago
Denmark	Malawi	Tunisia
Dominican Republic	Malaysia	Turkey
Ecuador	Mali	United Arab Republic
El Salvador	Malta	United Kingdom
Ethiopia	Mauritania	United States
Finland	Mexico	Upper Volta
France	Morocco	Uruguay
Gabon	Nepal	Venezuela
Germany, Federal	Netherlands	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Republic of	New Zealand	Yemen
Ghana	Nicaragua	Yugoslavia
Greece	Niger	Zambia

As of December 31, 1965, ICAO had 110 members.

## INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION (IDA)

*Headquarters: Washington, D.C.*

*President: George D. Woods,<sup>1</sup> United States*

Afghanistan	Ghana	Niger
Algeria	Greece	Nigeria
Argentina	Guatemala	Norway
Australia	Haiti	Pakistan
Austria	Honduras	Panama
Belgium	Iceland	Paraguay
Bolivia	India	Peru
Brazil	Iran	Philippines
Burundi	Iraq	Rwanda
Burma	Ireland	Saudi Arabia
Cameroon	Israel	Senegal
Canada	Italy	Sierra Leone
Central African Republic	Ivory Coast	Somalia
Ceylon	Japan	South Africa
Chad	Jordan	Spain
Chile	Kenya	Sudan
China	Korea, Republic of	Sweden
Colombia	Kuwait	Syrian Arab Republic
Congo (Brazzaville)	Laos	Tanzania
Congo (Léopoldville)	Lebanon	Thailand
Costa Rica	Liberia	Togo
Cyprus	Libya	Tunisia
Dahomey	Luxembourg	Turkey
Denmark	Malagasy Republic	Uganda
Dominican Republic	Malawi	United Arab Republic
Ecuador	Malaysia	United Kingdom
El Salvador	Mali	United States
Ethiopia	Mauritania	Upper Volta
Finland	Mexico	Viet-Nam, Republic of
France	Morocco	Yugoslavia
Gabon	Nepal	Zambia
Germany, Federal	Netherlands	
Republic of	Nicaragua	

As of December 31, 1965, IDA had 96 members.

<sup>1</sup> In accordance with the IDA articles George D. Woods, as President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), is *ex officio* President of IDA. Officers and staff of the Bank have been appointed to serve concurrently as officers and staff of IDA without additional compensation.

## INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION (IFC)

*Headquarters: Washington, D.C.**President: George D. Woods,<sup>1</sup> United States*

Afghanistan	Honduras	Nicaragua
Argentina	Iceland	Nigeria
Australia	India	Norway
Austria	Iran	Pakistan
Belgium	Iraq	Panama
Bolivia	Ireland	Paraguay
Brazil	Israel	Peru
Burma	Italy	Philippines
Canada	Ivory Coast	Saudi Arabia
Ceylon	Jamaica	Senegal
Chile	Japan	Sierra Leone
Colombia	Jordan	Somalia
Costa Rica	Kenya	South Africa
Cyprus	Korea, Republic of	Spain
Denmark	Kuwait	Sudan
Dominican Republic	Lebanon	Sweden
Ecuador	Liberia	Syrian Arab Republic
El Salvador	Libya	Tanzania
Ethiopia	Luxembourg	Thailand
Finland	Malagasy Republic	Togo
France	Malawi	Tunisia
Germany, Federal	Malaysia	Turkey
Republic of	Mexico	Uganda
Ghana	Morocco	United Arab Republic
Greece	Nepal	United Kingdom
Guatemala	Netherlands	United States
Haiti	New Zealand	Venezuela
		Zambia

As of December 31, 1965, IFC had 81 members.

<sup>1</sup> In accordance with the IFC articles George D. Woods, as President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), is *ex officio* President of IFC. Officers and staff of the Bank have been appointed to serve concurrently as officers and staff of IFC without additional compensation.



## INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO)

*Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland**Director General: David A. Morse, United States*

Afghanistan	Greece	Pakistan
Albania <sup>1</sup>	Guatemala	Panama
Algeria	Guinea	Paraguay
Argentina	Haiti	Peru
Australia	Honduras	Philippines
Austria	Hungary	Poland
Belgium	Iceland	Portugal
Bolivia	India	Romania
Brazil	Indonesia <sup>2</sup>	Rwanda
Bulgaria	Iran	Senegal
Burma	Iraq	Sierra Leone
Burundi	Ireland	Singapore
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Israel	Somalia
Cameroon	Italy	South Africa <sup>3</sup>
Canada	Ivory Coast	Spain
Central African Republic	Jamaica	Sudan
Ceylon	Japan	Sweden
Chad	Jordan	Switzerland
Chile	Kenya	Syrian Arab Republic
China	Kuwait	Tanzania
Colombia	Laos	Thailand
Congo (Brazzaville)	Lebanon	Togo
Congo (Léopoldville)	Liberia	Trinidad and Tobago
Costa Rica	Libya	Tunisia
Cuba	Luxembourg	Turkey
Cyprus	Malagasy Republic	Uganda
Czechoslovakia	Malawi	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Dahomey	Malaysia	U.S.S.R.
Denmark	Mali	United Arab Republic
Dominican Republic	Malta	United Kingdom
Ecuador	Mauritania	United States
El Salvador	Mexico	Upper Volta
Ethiopia	Morocco	Uruguay
Finland	Netherlands	Venezuela
France	New Zealand	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Gabon	Nicaragua	Yemen
Germany, Federal	Niger	Yugoslavia
Republic of	Nigeria	Zambia
Ghana	Norway	

As of December 31, 1965, ILO had 115 members.

<sup>1</sup> Notified the ILO on Aug. 5, 1965, of its decision to withdraw.

<sup>2</sup> Notified the ILO on Mar. 25, 1965, of its decision to withdraw.

<sup>3</sup> Notified the ILO on Mar. 11, 1964, of its decision to withdraw; will cease to be a member Mar. 11, 1966.

# INTERGOVERNMENTAL MARITIME CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION (IMCO)

*Headquarters: London, England*

*Secretary General: Jean Roullier, France*

Algeria	Greece	New Zealand
Argentina	Haiti	Nigeria
Australia	Honduras	Norway
Belgium	Iceland	Pakistan
Brazil	India	Panama
Bulgaria	Indonesia <sup>1</sup>	Philippines
Burma	Iran	Poland
Cambodia	Ireland	Romania
Cameroon	Israel	Senegal
Canada	Italy	Spain
China	Ivory Coast	Sweden
Czechoslovakia	Japan	Switzerland
Denmark	Korea, Republic of	Syrian Arab Republic
Dominican Republic	Kuwait	Trinidad and Tobago
Ecuador	Liberia	Tunisia
Finland	Malagasy Republic	Turkey
France	Mauritania	U.S.S.R.
Germany, Federal	Mexico	United Arab Republic
Republic of	Morocco	United Kingdom
Ghana	Netherlands	United States
		Yugoslavia

As of December 31, 1965, IMCO had 60 members.

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<sup>1</sup> On Oct. 9, 1965, Indonesia indicated its intention to withdraw effective Oct. 9, 1966.

## INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF)

*Headquarters: Washington, D.C.**Managing Director and Chairman of the Board of Executive Directors:**Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, France*

Afghanistan	Greece	Niger
Algeria	Guatemala	Nigeria
Argentina	Guinea	Norway
Australia	Haiti	Pakistan
Austria	Honduras	Panama
Belgium	Iceland	Paraguay
Bolivia	India	Peru
Brazil	Iran	Philippines
Burma	Iraq	Portugal
Burundi	Ireland	Rwanda
Cameroon	Israel	Saudi Arabia
Canada	Italy	Senegal
Central African Republic	Ivory Coast	Sierra Leone
Ceylon	Japan	Somalia
Chad	Jamaica	South Africa
Chile	Jordan	Spain
China	Kenya	Sudan
Colombia	Korea, Republic of	Sweden
Congo (Brazzaville)	Kuwait	Syrian Arab Republic
Congo (Léopoldville)	Laos	Tanzania
Costa Rica	Lebanon	Thailand
Cyprus	Liberia	Togo
Dahomey	Libya	Trinidad and Tobago
Denmark	Luxembourg	Tunisia
Dominican Republic	Malagasy Republic	Turkey
Ecuador	Malawi	Uganda
El Salvador	Malaysia	United Arab Republic
Ethiopia	Mali	United Kingdom
Finland	Mauritania	United States
France	Mexico	Upper Volta
Gabon	Morocco	Uruguay
Germany, Federal	Nepal	Venezuela
Republic of	Netherlands	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Ghana	New Zealand	Yugoslavia
	Nicaragua	Zambia

As of December 31, 1965, the IMF had 103 members. Indonesia withdrew in August 1965.



## INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION (ITU)

*Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland*  
*Secretary General: Gerald C. Gross,<sup>1</sup> United States*

Afghanistan	Guinea	Philippines
Albania	Haiti	Poland
Algeria	Holy See	Portugal
Argentina	Honduras	Portuguese Overseas
Australia	Hungary	Provinces
Austria	Iceland	Romania
Belgium	India	Rwanda
Bolivia	Indonesia	Saudi Arabia
Brazil	Iran	Senegal
Bulgaria	Iraq	Sierra Leone
Burma	Ireland	Singapore
Burundi	Israel	Somalia
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Italy	South Africa and Terri-
Cambodia	Ivory Coast	tory of South-West
Cameroon	Jamaica	Africa
Canada	Japan	Southern Rhodesia
Central African Republic	Jordan	Spain
Ceylon	Kenya	Spanish Provinces in
Chad	Korea, Republic of	Africa
Chile	Kuwait	Sudan
China	Laos	Sweden
Colombia	Lebanon	Switzerland
Congo (Brazzaville)	Liberia	Syrian Arab Republic
Congo (Léopoldville)	Libya	Tanzania
Costa Rica	Liechtenstein	Thailand
Cuba	Luxembourg	Togo
Cyprus	Malagasy Republic	Trinidad and Tobago
Czechoslovakia	Malawi	Tunisia
Dahomey	Malaysia	Turkey
Denmark	Mali	Uganda
Dominican Republic	Malta	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Ecuador	Mauritania	U.S.S.R.
El Salvador	Mexico	United Arab Republic
Ethiopia	Monaco	United Kingdom
Finland	Mongolia	Overseas Territories
France	Morocco	for which the United
Group of Territories rep-	Nepal	Kingdom is responsible
resented by French	Netherlands	United States
Overseas Post and	New Zealand	Territories of United
Telecommunication	Nicaragua	States
Agency	Niger	Upper Volta
Gabon	Nigeria	Uruguay
Germany, Federal Re-	Norway	Venezuela
public of	Pakistan	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Ghana	Panama	Yemen
Greece	Paraguay	Yugoslavia
Guatemala	Peru	Zambia

As of December 31, 1965, ITU had 129 members.

<sup>1</sup> Retired Dec. 31, 1965; Secretary-General-elect: Dr. Manojar B. Sarwate, India.

# UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (UNESCO)

*Headquarters: Paris, France*

*Director General: René Maheu, France*

Afghanistan	Greece	Nigeria
Albania	Guatemala	Norway
Algeria	Guinea	Pakistan
Argentina	Haiti	Panama
Australia	Honduras	Paraguay
Austria	Hungary	Peru
Belgium	Iceland	Philippines
Bolivia	India	Poland
Brazil	Indonesia <sup>1</sup>	Portugal
Bulgaria	Iran	Romania
Burma	Iraq	Rwanda
Burundi	Ireland	Saudi Arabia
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Israel	Senegal
Cambodia	Italy	Sierra Leone
Cameroon	Ivory Coast	Singapore
Canada	Jamaica	Somalia
Central African Republic	Japan	Spain
Ceylon	Jordan	Sudan
Chad	Kenya	Sweden
Chile	Korea, Republic of	Switzerland
China	Kuwait	Syrian Arab Republic
Colombia	Laos	Tanzania
Congo (Brazzaville)	Lebanon	Thailand
Congo (Léopoldville)	Liberia	Togo
Costa Rica	Libya	Trinidad and Tobago
Cuba	Luxembourg	Tunisia
Cyprus	Malagasy Republic	Turkey
Czechoslovakia	Malawi	Uganda
Dahomey	Malaysia	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Denmark	Mali	U.S.S.R.
Dominican Republic	Malta	United Arab Republic
Ecuador	Mauritania	United Kingdom
El Salvador	Mexico	United States
Ethiopia	Monaco	Upper Volta
Finland	Mongolia	Uruguay
France	Morocco	Venezuela
Gabon	Nepal	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Germany, Federal	Netherlands	Yemen
Republic of	New Zealand	Yugoslavia
Ghana	Nicaragua	Zambia
	Niger	

## *Associate Members*

Mauritius	Qatar	British Eastern Caribbean Group
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As of December 31, 1965, UNESCO had 120 members and 3 associate members.

<sup>1</sup> Notified UNESCO on Feb. 12, 1965, of its intention to withdraw; will cease to be a member Dec. 31, 1966.

## UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION (UPU)

*Headquarters: Bern, Switzerland**Secretary General: Edouard Weber, Switzerland*

Afghanistan	Holy See	Portuguese Provinces of
Albania	Honduras	West Africa
Algeria	Hungary	Portuguese Provinces of
Argentina	Iceland	East Africa, Asia,
Australia	India	and Oceania
Austria	Indonesia	Romania
Belgium	Iran	Rwanda
Bolivia	Iraq	San Marino
Brazil	Ireland	Saudi Arabia
Bulgaria	Israel	Senegal
Burma	Italy	Sierra Leone
Burundi	Ivory Coast	Somalia
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Jamaica	South Africa
Cambodia	Japan	Spain
Cameroon	Jordan	Spanish Territories of
Canada	Kenya	Africa
Central African Republic	Korea, Republic of	Sudan
Ceylon	Kuwait	Sweden
Chad	Laos	Switzerland
Chile	Lebanon	Syrian Arab Republic
China	Liberia	Tanzania
Colombia	Libya	Thailand
Congo (Brazzaville)	Liechtenstein	Togo
Congo (Léopoldville)	Luxembourg	Trinidad and Tobago
Costa Rica	Malagasy Republic	Tunisia
Cuba	Malaysia	Turkey
Cyprus	Mali	Uganda
Czechoslovakia	Malta	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Dahomey	Mexico	U.S.S.R.
Denmark	Monaco	United Arab Republic
Dominican Republic	Mongolia	United Kingdom
Ecuador	Morocco	United Kingdom Overseas
El Salvador	Nepal	Territories for the
Ethiopia	Netherlands	international relations
Finland	Netherlands Antilles	of which the United
France	and Surinam	Kingdom is responsible
Group of Territories repre-	New Zealand	United States
sented by French Over-	Nicaragua	United States Overseas
seas Post and Tele-	Niger	Territories, including
communication Agency	Nigeria	the Trust Territory of
Gabon	Norway	the Pacific Islands
Germany, Federal	Pakistan	Upper Volta
Republic of	Panama	Uruguay
Ghana	Paraguay	Venezuela
Greece	Peru	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Guatemala	Philippines	Yemen
Guinea	Poland	Yugoslavia
Haiti	Portugal	

As of December 31, 1965, UPU had 127 members.



## WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO)

*Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland**Director General: Marcolino G. Candau, Brazil*

Afghanistan	Guatemala	Norway
Albania	Guinea	Pakistan
Algeria	Haiti	Panama
Argentina	Honduras	Paraguay
Australia	Hungary	Peru
Austria	Iceland	Philippines
Belgium	India	Poland
Bolivia	Indonesia	Portugal
Brazil	Iran	Romania
Bulgaria	Iraq	Rwanda
Burma	Ireland	Samoa, Western
Burundi	Israel	Saudi Arabia
Byelorussian S.S.R. <sup>1</sup>	Italy	Senegal
Cambodia	Ivory Coast	Sierra Leone
Cameroon	Jamaica	Somalia
Canada	Japan	South Africa
Central African Republic	Jordan	Spain
Ceylon	Kenya	Sudan
Chad	Korea, Republic of	Sweden
Chile	Kuwait	Switzerland
China	Laos	Syrian Arab Republic
Colombia	Lebanon	Tanzania
Congo (Brazzaville)	Liberia	Thailand
Congo (Léopoldville)	Libya	Togo
Costa Rica	Luxembourg	Trinidad and Tobago
Cuba	Malagasy Republic	Tunisia
Cyprus	Malawi	Turkey
Czechoslovakia	Malaysia	Uganda
Dahomey	Mali	Ukrainian S.S.R. <sup>1</sup>
Denmark	Malta	U.S.S.R.
Dominican Republic	Mauritania	United Arab Republic
Ecuador	Mexico	United Kingdom
El Salvador	Monaco	United States
Ethiopia	Mongolia	Upper Volta
Finland	Morocco	Uruguay
France	Nepal	Venezuela
Gabon	Netherlands	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Germany, Federal	New Zealand	Yemen
Republic of	Nicaragua	Yugoslavia
Ghana	Niger	Zambia
Greece	Nigeria	

*Associate Members*

Mauritius	Qatar	Southern Rhodesia
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As of December 31, 1965, WHO had 121 full members and 3 associate members.

<sup>1</sup> Inactive members.

## WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION (WMO)

*Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland**Secretary General: D. A. Davies, United Kingdom*

Afghanistan	Guinea	Peru
Albania	Haiti	Philippines
Algeria	Honduras	Poland
Argentina	Hong Kong	Portugal
Australia	Hungary	Portuguese East Africa
Austria	Iceland	Portuguese West Africa
Belgium	India	Romania
Bolivia	Indonesia	Rwanda
Brazil	Iran	Saudi Arabia
Bulgaria	Iraq	Senegal
Burma	Ireland	Sierra Leone
Burundi	Israel	Somalia
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Italy	South Africa
Cambodia	Ivory Coast	Southern Rhodesia
Cameroon	Jamaica	Spain
Canada	Japan	Spanish Territories of Guinea
Central African Republic	Jordan	Sudan
Ceylon	Kenya	Surinam
Chad	Korea, Republic of	Sweden
Chile	Kuwait	Switzerland
China	Laos	Syrian Arab Republic
Colombia	Lebanon	Tanzania
Congo (Brazzaville)	Libya	Thailand
Congo (Léopoldville)	Luxembourg	Togo
Costa Rica	Malagasy Republic	Trinidad and Tobago
Cuba	Malawi	Tunisia
Cyprus	Malaysia	Turkey
Czechoslovakia	Mali	Uganda
Dahomey	Mauritania	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Denmark	Mauritius	U.S.S.R.
Dominican Republic	Mexico	United Arab Republic
Ecuador	Mongolia	United Kingdom
El Salvador	Morocco	United States
Ethiopia	Netherlands	Upper Volta
Finland	Netherlands Antilles	Uruguay
France	New Caledonia	Venezuela
French Polynesia	New Zealand	Viet-Nam, Republic of
French Somaliland	Nicaragua	The West Indies and other British Carib- bean Territories
Gabon	Niger	Yugoslavia
Germany, Federal Republic of	Nigeria	Zambia
Ghana	Norway	
Greece	Pakistan	
Guatemala	Paraguay	

As of December 31, 1965, WMO had 126 members.

## *Other International Organizations*

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### INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY (IAEA)

*Headquarters: Vienna, Austria*

*Director General: A. Sigvard Eklund, Sweden*

Afghanistan	Germany, Federal	New Zealand
Albania	Republic of	Nicaragua
Algeria	Ghana	Nigeria
Argentina	Greece	Norway
Australia	Guatemala	Pakistan
Austria	Haiti	Paraguay
Belgium	Holy See	Peru
Bolivia	Honduras	Philippines
Brazil	Hungary	Poland
Bulgaria	Iceland	Portugal
Burma	India	Romania
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Indonesia	Saudi Arabia
Cambodia	Iran	Senegal
Cameroon	Iraq	South Africa
Canada	Israel	Spain
Ceylon	Italy	Sudan
Chile	Ivory Coast	Sweden
China	Jamaica	Switzerland
Colombia	Japan	Syrian Arab Republic
Congo (Léopoldville)	Kenya	Thailand
Costa Rica	Korea, Republic of	Tunisia
Cuba	Kuwait	Turkey
Cyprus	Lebanon	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Liberia	U.S.S.R.
Denmark	Libya	United Arab Republic
Dominican Republic	Luxembourg	United Kingdom
Ecuador	Malagasy Republic	United States
El Salvador	Mali	Uruguay
Ethiopia	Mexico	Venezuela
Finland	Monaco	Viet-Nam, Republic of
France	Morocco	Yugoslavia
Gabon	Netherlands	

As of December 31, 1965, IAEA had 94 members.



## *United States Representation*

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### UNITED STATES MISSIONS

#### *U.S. Mission at U.N. Headquarters in New York (USUN)*

The United States is represented by a permanent mission at the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York. Under the direction of the Representative of the United States to the United Nations, the mission carries out the instructions of the President, transmitted normally by the Secretary of State, in U.N. bodies. It also serves as the channel of communication between the U.S. Government, on the one hand, and the U.N. organs, agencies, and commissions at the Headquarters and the delegations of other nations to the United Nations located in New York, on the other. It is a base of operations for the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly and to other U.N. organs and agencies when they meet in New York.

The structure, organization, and functions of the U.S. mission to the United Nations have been determined in the main by the following factors:

1. The requirements of the U.N. Charter and the resolutions of the organs of the United Nations.
2. The provisions of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Cong.) as amended by Public Law 341 of the 81st Congress, and Public Law 206 of the 89th Congress.
3. Executive Order 10108.
4. Location of the Headquarters of the United Nations in the United States and the consequent need for the United States to assume the responsibilities of "host government."
5. The fact that the United States, in consequence of its leadership role in the United Nations, is represented on all organs and virtually all commissions and committees of the United Nations.

The main source of policy guidance and strategical direction for the conduct of U.S. participation in the United Nations is the Department of State.

The chief of mission, who has the rank of ambassador, is the U.S. Representative to the United Nations and also represents the United States in the Security Council. He is assisted by a Deputy Representative, holding ambassadorial rank, who serves as his alternate. The U.S. Representative is also assisted by another Deputy Representative, to the Security Council of ambassadorial rank. Other principal officers of the mission include the U.S. Representatives on the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council, both of ambassadorial rank, and the Counselor of Mission having the rank of minister.

The mission has a staff consisting of a number of political, economic, social, financial, and legal advisers, public affairs specialists, and an administrative section. This staff assists the U.S. Representative in (1) planning the tactical pursuit of U.S. policy objectives in the light of the political, economic, and parliamentary situations in U.N. organs and bodies; (2) consultation, negotiation, and liaison with other delegations and the U.N. Secretariat; (3) preparation of policy recommendations to the Department of State; (4) reporting to the Department of State on consultations and developments in the United Nations; (5) the discharge of the responsibilities of the United States as "host government," in particular those arising from the Headquarters Agreement between the United States and the United Nations (Public Law 357, 80th Cong.) and the International Organizations Immunities Act (Public Law 391, 79th Cong.), which deal *inter alia* with relations of the United Nations, its officials, and delegation members with Federal, State, and local authorities; and (6) administering of all public affairs activities concerning U.S. participation in the United Nations at New York. The administrative section assists the U.S. Representative by (1) planning for and administering conference operations; (2) the provision of necessary research, reference, reporting, communications, and general services; and (3) the administration, personnel management, fiscal, protocol, and security functions of the U.S. mission.

### *U.S. Mission at U.N. European Office in Geneva*

The United States is represented at the European Office of the United Nations by a permanent mission at Geneva, Switzerland. Under the direction of the U.S. Representative to the European Office of the United Nations and other international organizations, the Geneva mission is responsible for relations with and for observing and reporting on activities in the political and economic field of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies located in Geneva. These include the

U.N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO). In addition, the mission is responsible for relations with and reporting on the activities of other international organizations located in Geneva and for necessary liaison with the missions of other countries accredited to international organizations located in Geneva.

The chief of the mission reports directly to the Secretary of State and the Department of State. Instructions to the mission are sent by the Department of State. The mission works in close coordination with the U.S. Embassies, the U.S. Mission to the European Communities (USEC), and the U.S. Mission to Regional Organizations (USRO).

### *Other U.S. Missions*

In addition to the U.S. missions at the U.N. Headquarters, New York, and the European Office of the United Nations at Geneva, the United States during 1965 maintained several special missions in order to participate effectively in the work of certain U.N. bodies located elsewhere.

A special U.S. mission, the Office of the U.S. Representative to the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), was maintained in Montreal, Canada, and a U.S. mission to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was maintained at Vienna, Austria, the Agency's headquarters.

## UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES TO THE UNITED NATIONS

United States Representative and Chief of United States Mission to the United Nations:

Adlai E. Stevenson (died in office July 1965)

Arthur J. Goldberg (from July 1965)

Deputy United States Representative and Deputy Representative in the Security Council:

Francis T. P. Plimpton (resigned September 1965)

Charles W. Yost (from September 1965 as Deputy U.S. Representative)

Deputy United States Representative in the Security Council:

Charles W. Yost

James M. Nabrit, Jr. (from September 1965)



United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council:

Franklin H. Williams (resigned September 1965)

James Roosevelt (from October 1965)

United States Representative on the Trusteeship Council:

Marietta P. Tree (resigned September 1965)

Eugenie M. Anderson (from September 1965)

Counselor of Mission:

Richard F. Pedersen

## *The General Assembly*

TWENTIETH REGULAR SESSION, NEW YORK, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 21-  
DECEMBER 21, 1965

Representatives:

Dean Rusk <sup>1</sup>

Arthur J. Goldberg

Charles W. Yost

Barratt O'Hara

Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen

William C. Foster

Alternate Representatives:

James M. Nabrit, Jr.

James Roosevelt

Eugenie M. Anderson

William P. Rogers

Frances E. Willis

## SPECIAL COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

### *United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee (UNSAC)*

Representative:

I. I. Rabi

### *United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR)*

Representative:

Dr. Richard Hall Chamberlain

Alternate Representative:

Austin M. Brues

### *Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to Implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries*

Representative:

Marietta P. Tree (resigned September 1965)

Eugenie M. Anderson

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<sup>1</sup> The Secretary served as Chairman of the Delegation, *ex officio*, during his presence at the session. At other times, Ambassador Goldberg served as Senior Representative.

## Alternate Representatives:

Dwight Dickinson

Christopher Thoron

*Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space*

## Representative:

James M. Nabrit, Jr.

## Alternate Representatives:

Legal: Leonard C. Meeker

Technical: Arnold W. Frutkin

*Committee Established Under General Assembly Resolution 1181 (XII) (Question of Defining Aggression)*

## Representative:

Francis T. P. Plimpton (resigned September 1965)

## Alternative Representatives:

Albert F. Bender, Jr.

Seymour M. Finger

*Interim Committee of the General Assembly*

(Has not met since 1961)

*Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations*

## Representative:

Arthur J. Goldberg

## Alternate Representatives:

Francis T. P. Plimpton (resigned September 1965)

Seymour M. Finger

Albert F. Bender, Jr.

*Collective Measures Committee*

This Committee, which has not met since 1954, reports to both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

*United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine*

## Representative:

Francis T. P. Plimpton (until September 1965)

*United Nations Peace Observation Commission*

(Did not meet in 1965)

*United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) Advisory Commission (Beirut, Lebanon)*

## Representative:

Armin H. Meyer

## Alternate Representative:

Theodore Wahl

*Committee on United Nations Capital Development Fund*

(Did not meet in 1965)

*Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States*

(Did not meet in 1965)

*Disarmament Commission*

The Commission reports to both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Representative:

Adlai E. Stevenson

Alternate Representative:

William C. Foster

*Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies*

Representative:

Philip M. Klutznick

Alternate Representatives:

Albert F. Bender, Jr.

Seymour M. Finger

Wilbur H. Ziehl

*The Security Council*

Representative:

Adlai E. Stevenson (to July 1965)

Arthur J. Goldberg

Deputy Representatives:

Charles W. Yost

Francis T. P. Plimpton (resigned September 1965)

James M. Nabrit, Jr. (from September 1965)

*Military Staff Committee*

Representatives:

Navy: Vice Adm. Harold T. Deutermann, USN (retired June 30, 1965)  
Vice Adm. John S. McCain, Jr., USN

Army: Lt. Gen. Robert W. Porter, Jr., USA (detached Feb. 20, 1965)  
Lt. Gen. Thomas W. Dunn, USA

Air Force: Lt. Gen. William H. Blanchard, USAF (detached Feb. 19, 1965)  
Lt. Gen. James Ferguson, USAF

Deputy Representatives:

Navy: Capt. Arthur H. Warner, Jr., USN

Army: Col. Clarence F. Nelson, USA

Air Force: Col. Arthur B. Swan, USAF (detached June 30, 1965)  
Col. James M. Boyd, USAF



*Disarmament Commission*

(See under General Assembly)

*Collective Measures Committee*

(See under General Assembly)

*The Trusteeship Council*

Representative:

Marietta P. Tree (resigned September 1965)

Eugenie M. Anderson

*The Economic and Social Council*

Representative:

Franklin H. Williams (resigned September 1965)

James Roosevelt

Deputy Representative:

Walter Kotschnig

## FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS

*Commodity Trade* (discontinued Mar. 1, 1965): W. Michael Blumenthal*Human Rights*: Marietta P. Tree (resigned September 1965)

Morris B. Abram

*Narcotic Drugs*: Harry J. Anslinger*Population*: Dr. Ansley J. Coale*Social*: Jane Warner Dick (resigned September 1965)

Majorie Lawson

*Statistical*: Raymond T. Bowman*Status of Women*: Gladys Avery Tillett

## REGIONAL COMMISSIONS

*Africa, Economic Commission for:*

7th session (Nairobi, Kenya, Feb. 9-23, 1965)

U.S. Observer: Samuel Z. Westerfield

*Asia and the Far East, Economic Commission for:*

21st session (Wellington, New Zealand, Mar. 16-29, 1965)

U.S. Representative: Walter M. Kotschnig

Alternate Representatives: Robert Smith

Leonard Weiss

*Europe, Economic Commission for:*

20th session (Geneva, Apr. 21-May 8, 1965)  
U.S. Representative: Walter M. Kotschnig  
Alternate Representative: George Tesoro

*Latin America, Economic Commission for:*

11th session of the Committee of the Whole (Mexico City, May 6-17, 1965)  
U.S. Representative: Jack H. Vaughn  
Alternate Representatives: Robert M. Sayre  
William Turnage  
Franklin H. Williams

**UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND**

U.S. Representative, Executive Board:  
P. Frederick DelliQuadri  
Alternate U.S. Representative, Executive Board:  
Katherine Bain

**UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES  
TO THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES***Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*

13th session FAO Conference (Rome, Nov. 8-Dec. 9, 1965)  
U.S. Delegate:  
Dorothy H. Jacobson  
Alternate U.S. Delegates:  
Ralph W. Phillips  
Robert Rossow, Jr.  
Herbert J. Waters

*Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization*

4th session of the Assembly (Paris, Sept. 15-29, 1965)  
U.S. Representative: William K. Miller  
Alternate U.S. Representative: Edwin J. Roland  
U.S. Representative to the Council of IMCO:  
Paul F. Geren (14th session, London, June 11-18, 1965)  
William K. Miller (15th session, Paris, Sept. 29, 1965)

*International Bank for Reconstruction and Development*

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:  
C. Douglas Dillon (through Apr. 21, 1965)  
Henry H. Fowler (from Apr. 22, 1965)  
Alternate U.S. Governor:  
George W. Ball (through June 3, 1965)  
Thomas C. Mann (from June 4, 1965)

## U.S. Executive Director:

John C. Bullitt (through Aug. 10, 1965)

Livingston T. Merchant (from Aug. 11, 1965)

## Alternate U.S. Executive Director:

Ralph Hirschtritt (acting, through Sept. 16, 1965)

Bernard Zagorin (from Sept. 17, 1965)

*International Civil Aviation Organization*

## U.S. Representative on the Council of ICAO:

Nelson B. David

## Alternate U.S. Representative on the Council of ICAO:

John T. Brennan

*International Development Association*

The Officers, Executive Directors, and Alternates are the same as those of the  
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

*International Finance Corporation*

## U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:

C. Douglas Dillon (through Apr. 21, 1965)

Henry H. Fowler (from Apr. 22, 1965)

## Alternate U.S. Governor:

George W. Ball (through June 3, 1965)

Thomas C. Mann (from June 4, 1965)

## U.S. Executive Director:

John C. Bullitt (through Aug. 10, 1965)

Livingston T. Merchant (from Aug. 11, 1965)

## Alternate U.S. Executive Director:

Ralph Hirschtritt (acting, through Sept. 16, 1965)

Bernard Zagorin (from Sept. 17, 1965)

*International Labor Organization*Representative of the Government of the United States to the Governing Body  
of the ILO:

George L-P Weaver

*International Monetary Fund*

## U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:

C. Douglas Dillon (through Apr. 21, 1965)

Henry H. Fowler (from Apr. 22, 1965)

## Alternate U.S. Governor:

George W. Ball (through June 3, 1965)

Thomas C. Mann (from June 4, 1965)

## U.S. Executive Director:

William B. Dale

## Alternate U.S. Executive Director:

John S. Hooker

*International Telecommunication Union*

## U.S. Representative, Administrative Council:

Carl W. Loeber



*United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*

U.S. Member, Executive Board:

William Benton

*Universal Postal Union*

Executive Council (Bern, May 14-22, 1965)

U.S. Representative: William J. Hartigan

Alternate U.S. Representative: Greever Allan

*World Health Organization*

U.S. Representative, Executive Board:

Dr. James Watt

*World Meteorological Organization*

U.S. Permanent Representative:

Robert M. White

## UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

*International Atomic Energy Agency*

U.S. Representative:

Henry DeWolf Smyth

Deputy U.S. Representative:

Frank K. Hefner (through Oct. 24, 1965)

Verne B. Lewis (from Nov. 21, 1965)

## *Publications and Documentation*

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United Nations publications include (1) the *Official Records* of the United Nations comprising the proceedings of the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, Disarmament Commission, and the early U.N. Atomic Energy Commission; important reports and documents submitted to these bodies, and resolutions passed by them; (2) special studies prepared by the U.N. Secretariat describing the work of the Organization or providing data of concern to the United Nations; for example, reports on world economy, human rights, or trust territories; (3) periodicals covering most phases of U.N. work; (4) the *Treaty Series* listing all registered international treaties and signatories thereto.

United Nations publications and audiovisual materials may be purchased from the Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y. Selected material may be obtained from the subagents for the sale of U.N. publications listed in the following pages. The annual sales catalog, entitled *United Nations Publications*, is available through most subagents.

Distinct from U.N. publications is material put out by each of the Specialized Agencies. A list of agents for the sale of publications of the Specialized Agencies follows this explanatory note. Current U.N. publications and documents are described in the monthly *Index to United Nations Documents*.

The mimeographed documents of the various organs of the United Nations may be purchased at annual rates from the Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y.

Reference collections of U.N. publications and documents and the publications of selected Specialized Agencies may be found at the Depository Libraries listed on the following pages. Material is also available at many other school and public libraries and in the libraries of private foundations and government agencies concerned with international affairs.

An excellent point of departure for research projects on U.N. activities is the *Yearbook of the United Nations*, an annual publication which summarizes the work of the Organization and its related activities in all major fields and provides a guide to fuller documentation. The U.N. publication entitled *Everyman's United Nations*

(Seventh Edition, October 1964) is a concise handbook of the functions and activities of the United Nations and its related agencies during the period 1945 to the end of 1963.

Material on U.S. policy toward issues before the United Nations may be found in the *Department of State Bulletin*, a weekly publication available in many school and public libraries, which prints the texts of major U.S. statements before the United Nations, selected documents, and interpretive articles on U.N. affairs. Foreign policy highlights are published biweekly in a State Department periodical entitled *Foreign Policy Briefs*.

The Department now covers U.S. participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency (previously dealt with in this publication) in an annual report, the latest being *U.S. Participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency: Report by the President to Congress for the year 1964* (Department of State publication 7946).

Another very useful document which is submitted to the House of Representatives by the Secretary of State and released as a House document is *U.S. Contributions to International Organizations*. (The latest in this series is the 13th report, 89th Congress, 1st session, House Document No. 229.)

From time to time the Department also issues publications and pamphlets dealing with international organization matters of interest to the United States. A list of publications is available upon request to the Office of Media Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C., 20520.

The *Department of State Bulletin* (52 issues: domestic \$10, foreign \$15, single copy 30¢), *Foreign Policy Briefs* (26 issues: domestic \$1.25, foreign \$2.25), and all other State Department publications carrying a price line may be purchased from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402. Remittances payable to the Superintendent of Documents should accompany orders.



# SALE OF PUBLICATIONS AND VISUAL MATERIALS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Publications and visual materials of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the World Health Organization may be purchased from the Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y.

Publications of other Specialized Agencies may be purchased from:

- |          |  |
|----------|--|
| (IBRD)   | Publications Office<br>International Bank for Reconstruction and Development<br>1818 H Street NW.<br>Washington, D.C.      |
| (ICAO)   | International Civil Aviation Organization<br>International Aviation Building<br>1080 University Street<br>Montreal, Canada |
| (IDA)    | Publications Office<br>International Development Association<br>1818 H Street NW.<br>Washington, D.C.                      |
| (IFC)    | Publications Office<br>International Finance Office<br>1818 H Street NW.<br>Washington, D.C.                               |
| (ILO)    | International Labor Office<br>917-15th Street NW.<br>Washington, D.C.  |
| (IMCO)   | Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization<br>Chancery House, Chancery Lane<br>London, W.C. 2, England          |
| (IMF)    | Publications Office<br>International Monetary Fund<br>1850 H Street NW.<br>Washington, D.C.                                |
| (ITU)    | The General Secretariat<br>International Telecommunication Union<br>Place des Nations<br>Geneva, Switzerland               |
| (UNESCO) | UNESCO Publications Centre<br>317 E. 34th Street<br>New York, N.Y.   |
| (UPU)    | The International Bureau<br>Universal Postal Union<br>Case Postale<br>Bern 15, Switzerland                                 |
| (WMO)    | World Meteorological Organization<br>41 Avenue Giuseppe Motta<br>Geneva, Switzerland                                       |

## SUBAGENTS IN THE UNITED STATES FOR SALE OF UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS AND VISUAL MATERIALS

*California*

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Los Angeles

World Affairs Council of Northern  
California  
421 Powell St.  
San Francisco

Los Angeles World Affairs Council  
Mobil Oil Bldg.  
612 S. Flower St.  
Los Angeles

*Connecticut*

World Affairs Center  
20 E. State St.  
Westport

*Illinois*

American Association for the United  
Nations  
59 E. Madison  
Chicago  
Chicago Council on Foreign Relations  
Pamphlet Center, 116 S. Michigan  
Ave.  
Chicago

*Maryland*

UN Association of Maryland  
1 W. Mt. Vernon Pl.  
Baltimore

*Massachusetts*

World Affairs Council  
10 Arlington St.  
Boston  
UN Information Center  
World Affairs Council  
105 Newberry St.  
Boston

*Minnesota*

Minnesota UN Association  
1124 Metropolitan Bldg.  
Minneapolis

*Missouri*

St. Louis World Affairs Council  
418 Olive St.  
St. Louis

*New Hampshire*

New Hampshire Council on World  
Affairs  
Commons Bldg.  
Durham

*New York*

World Affairs Center  
Book, Pamphlet and Documents  
Department  
47th St. and U.N. Plaza  
New York  
U.S. Committee for one UN  
375 Park Ave.  
New York  
American Association for the United  
Nations  
345 E. 46th St.  
New York

*Ohio*

Cincinnati Council on World Affairs  
Suite 1028  
Dixie Terminal Bldg.  
Cincinnati  
Council on World Affairs  
922 Society for Savings Bldg.  
Cleveland  
World Affairs Council of Toledo  
331 Security Bldg.  
Toledo

*Pennsylvania*

World Affairs Council of Philadelphia  
The John Waramaker Store  
13th and Market Sts.  
Philadelphia

UN Association of Pittsburgh  
131 N. Bellefield Ave.  
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*Texas*

Dallas Council on World Affairs  
2419 Maple Ave.  
Dallas



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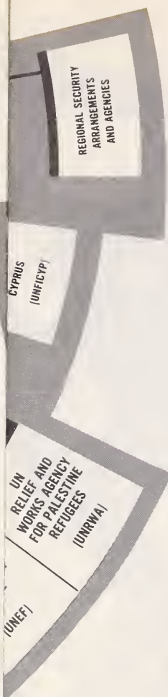
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<i>California</i>						
University of California General Library Berkeley	x				x	
Los Angeles Public Library Los Angeles	x					
University of California at Los Angeles Los Angeles	x		x		x	
Stanford University Stanford	x					
<i>Colorado</i>						
Denver Public Library Denver	x					
<i>Connecticut</i>						
Yale University New Haven	x		x			
<i>District of Columbia</i>						
Brookings Institution	x					
Pan American Union Library of Congress	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Hawaii</i>						
University of Hawaii Honolulu	x					
<i>Illinois</i>						
Library of International Relations Chicago	x	x	x			
University of Chicago Chicago	x				x	
Northwestern University Evanston	x			x		
Public Library Rockford			x			
University of Illinois Urbana	x					
<i>Louisiana</i>						
Louisiana State University Baton Rouge	x	x	x		x	
<i>Maryland</i>						
Johns Hopkins University Baltimore	x		x			
<i>Massachusetts</i>						
World Peace Foundation Boston	x	x				
Harvard University Cambridge	x		x	x	x	
<i>Michigan</i>						
University of Michigan Ann Arbor	x		x			

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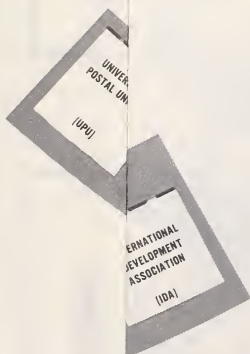
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<i>Minnesota</i>						
University of Minnesota Minneapolis	x		x			
<i>Missouri</i>						
St. Louis Public Library St. Louis	x				x	
<i>New Jersey</i>						
Princeton University Princeton	x		x			
<i>New York</i>						
Cornell University Ithaca	x					
Columbia University Law Library New York	x					
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. New York	x	x				
Institute of Aeronautical Sciences New York				x		
New York Public Library New York	x	x	x	x	x	
New York University New York	x		x			
<i>North Carolina</i>						
University of North Carolina Chapel Hill	x				x	
<i>Ohio</i>						
Cleveland Public Library Cleveland	x				x	
<i>Pennsylvania</i>						
University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia	x					
<i>Rhode Island</i>						
Brown University Providence	x					
<i>Tennessee</i>						
Joint University Libraries Nashville	x		x			
<i>Texas</i>						
University of Texas Austin	x		x		x	
<i>Washington</i>						
University of Washington Seattle	x					







# THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM



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DECEMBER 31, 1965





# THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM



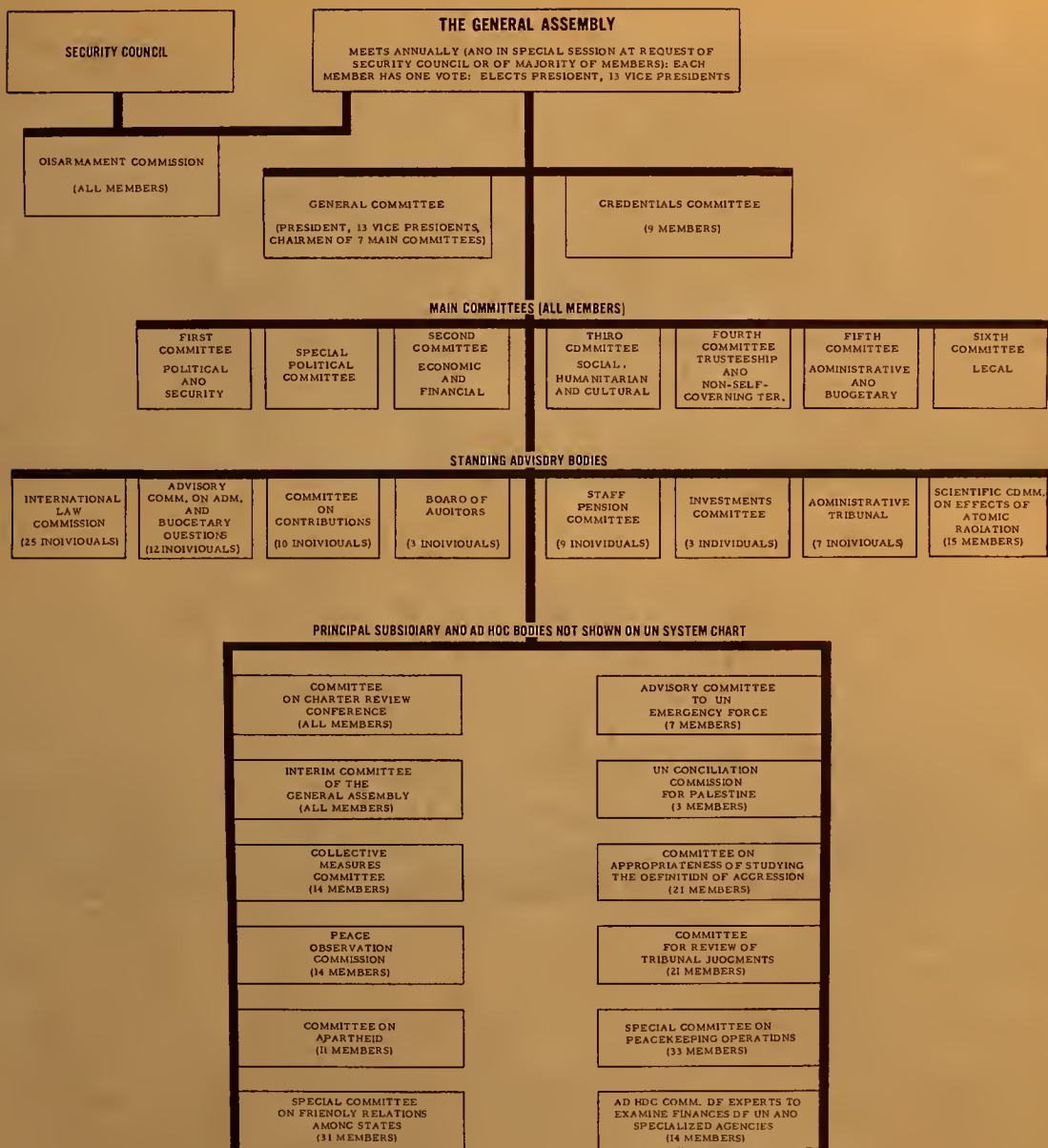


SECURITY COUNCIL	THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY	
	MEETS ANNUALLY (AND IN SPECIAL SESSION AT REQUEST OF SECURITY COUNCIL OR OF MAJORITY OF MEMBERS)	
	PEACE OBSERVATION COMMISSION (14 MEMBERS)	COMMITTEE FOR REVIEW OF TRIBUNAL JUDGMENTS (21 MEMBERS)
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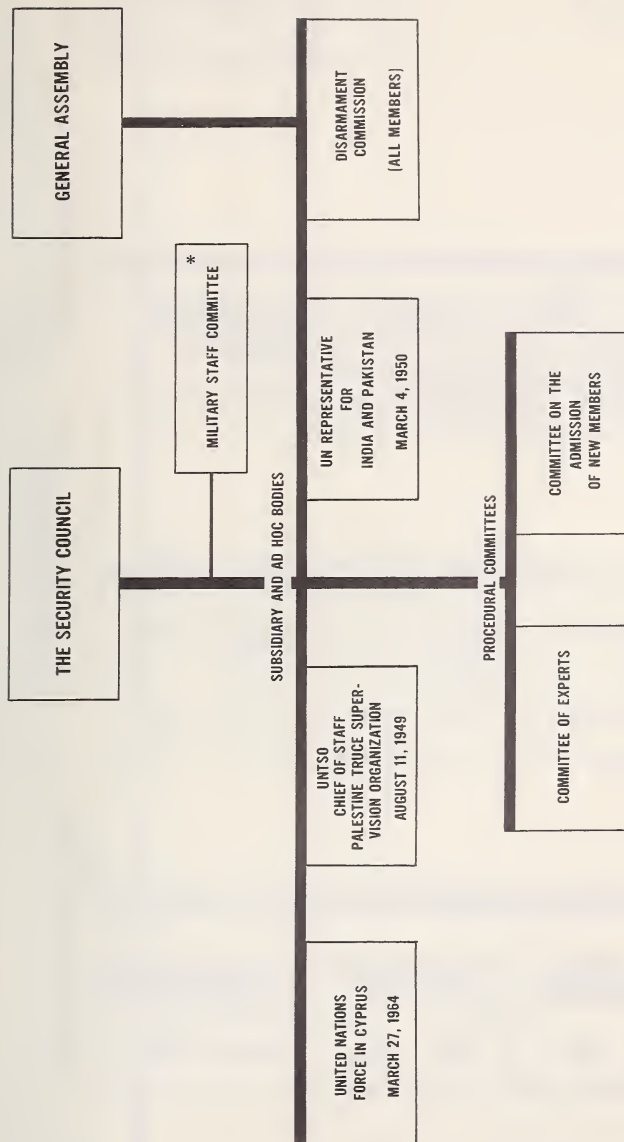
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\* COMPOSED OF CHIEFS OF STAFF OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

DECEMBER 31, 1965





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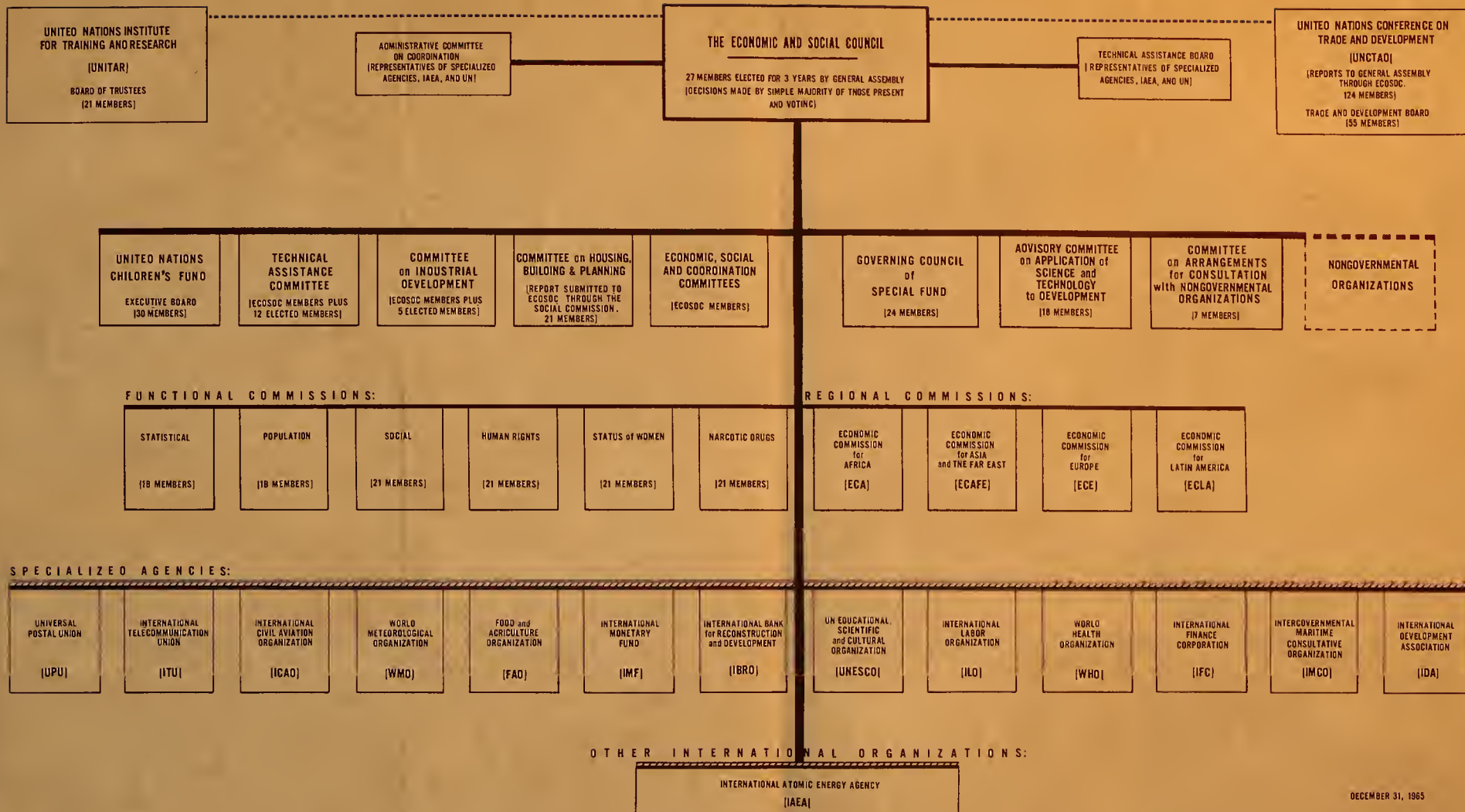
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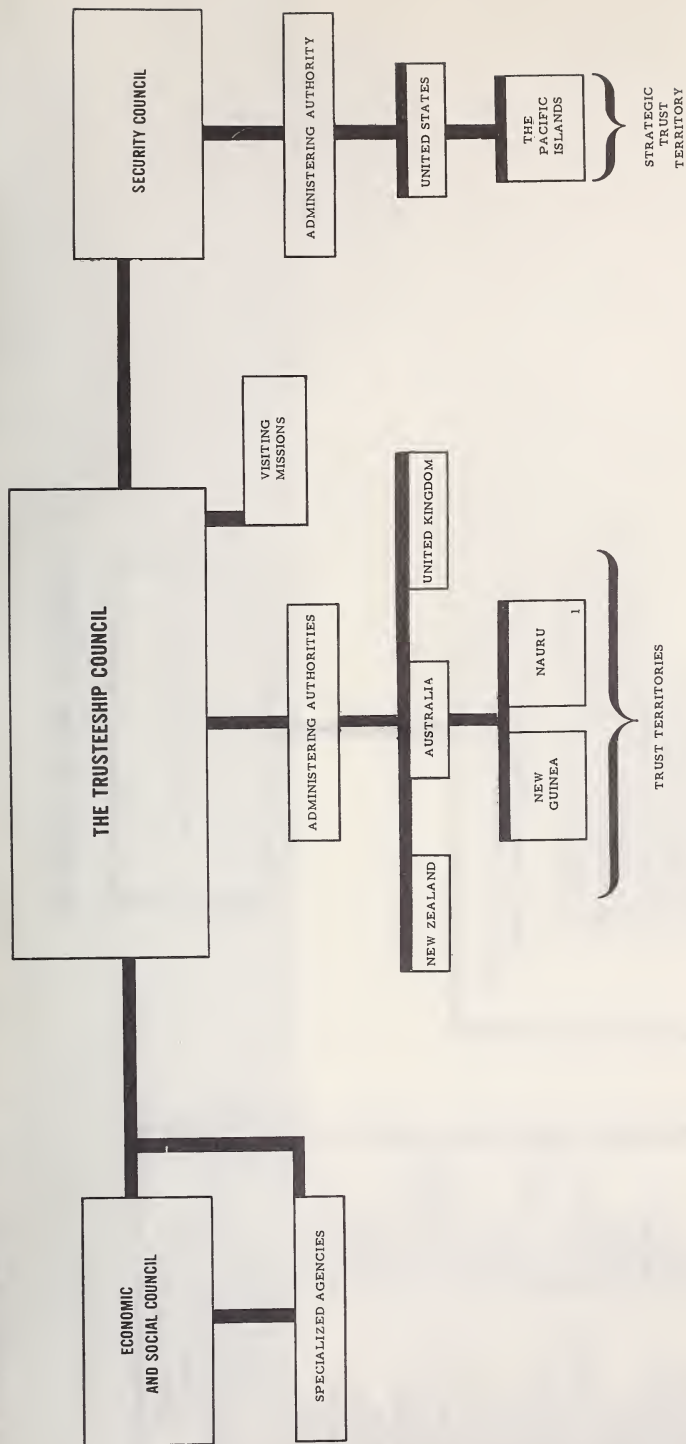
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1. Administered by Australia on behalf of Australia, New Zealand, and United Kingdom as joint administering authorities.





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SECRETARY-GENERAL

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United Nations Special Fund	
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Buenos Aires	Port-of-Spain
Bujumbura	Prague
Cairo	Rabat
Colombo	Rangoon
Copenhagen	Rio de Janeiro
Dakar	Rome
Dar es Salaam	San Salvador
Geneva	Santiago
Kabul	Sydney
Karachi	Tananarive
Katmandu	Tehran
Khartoum	Tokyo
La Paz	Tunis
Léopoldville	Washington

Secretariat of the  
United Nations Conference  
on Trade and Development

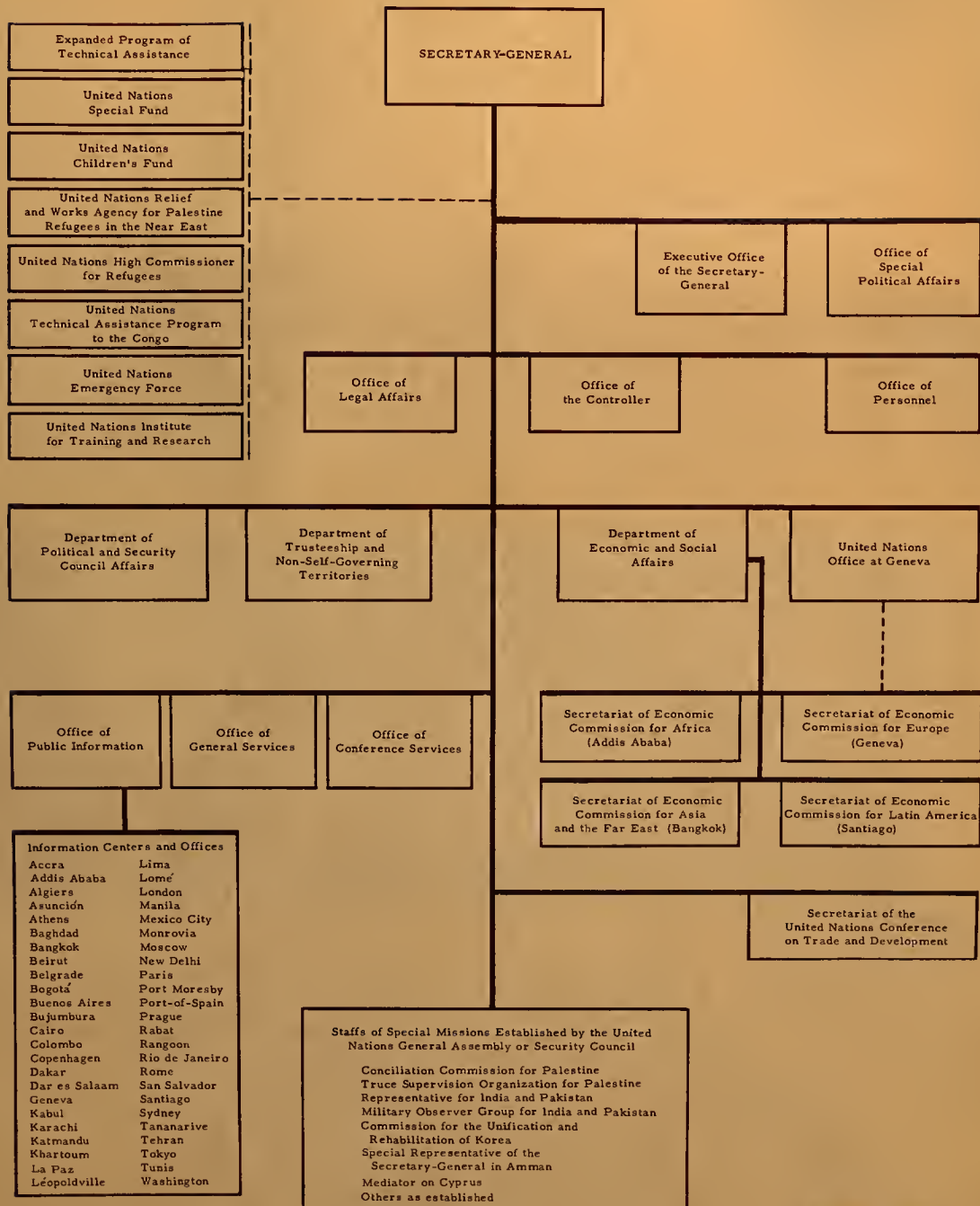
Staffs of Special Missions Established by the United Nations General Assembly or Security Council

Conciliation Commission for Palestine  
Truce Supervision Organization for Palestine  
Representative for India and Pakistan  
Military Observer Group for India and Pakistan  
Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea  
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THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT



DECEMBER 31, 1965







